THE STORY OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

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THE STORY

OF

THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

BY

DAVID M. DUNCAN, B.A. (TOR.)
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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to tell the story of our country simply, yet without sacrificing historical content to simplicity. The story is one of colonisation. It tells of failure and success; of French failure through the folly of absolutism, monopoly, and feudalism; of British success through the wisdom of self-government, freedom, and equality. Canada's past is richly stored with those picturesque incidents which make history fascinating as well as instructive. From the blunders of the French crown and the greed of chartered companies, the reader turns with pleasure to the deeds of martial governors, devoted missionaries, and freedom-loving *coureurs de bois;* while, later on, his mind finds relief from the serious problems of autonomy and union in the simple scenes of pioneer life, and in the adventures of explorer or fur-trader of the West, where the romance of earlier days still lives.

The biographical method has been followed, — events have been grouped about men of strong personality, — but at no point has this method been allowed to interfere with the logical treatment of great movements. Emphasis has been laid upon the industrial and social, upon the intellectual and moral development of the people. The illustrations have been carefully chosen with a view to stimulating an interest in or throwing light upon the text. Most of the maps have been drawn

specially for this work, and, bearing as they do only such names as are referred to in the text, are free from confusing details. In the spelling of proper names the author has thought it well to follow for the most part the spelling adopted by Parkman. In the spelling of words such as *coureur de bois*, he has followed both Parkman and Bourinot.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the scholarly suggestions of Dr. Bain of the Toronto Public Library, Mr. W. A. McIntyre, B.A., Principal of the Provincial Normal School, Winnipeg, Rev. Charles W. Gordon, B.A., Winnipeg, and Mr. John C. Saul, M.A., Toronto.

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE,
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GOVERNORS, GOVERNORS-GENERAL, ETC.

GOVERNORS OF CANADA, 1612–1867

French

Samuel de Champlain	1612–1629 and 1633–1635
Charles Huault de Montmagny	1636–1648
Louis D'Ailleboust de Coulonge	1648–1651
Jean de Lauzon	1651–1656
Vicomte D'Argenson	1658–1661
Baron D'Avaugour	1661–1663
Augustin de Saffray Mézy	1663–1665
Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle	1665–1672
Comte de Frontenac	1672–1682
Le Febvre de La Barre	1682–1685
Marquis de Denonville	1685–1689
Comte de Frontenac	1689–1698
Louis Hector de Callières	1699–1703
Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil	1703–1725
Marquis de Beauharnois	1726–1747
Marquis de la Jonquière	1749–1752
Marquis de Duquesne	1752–1755
Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil	1755–1760

British

General Jeffrey Amherst	1760–1763
General James Murray	1764–1766
Sir Guy Carleton	1766–1778
Frederick Haldimand	1778–1784
Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton)	1786–1796
Robert Prescott	1797–1807
Sir James Henry Craig	1807–1811
Sir George Prevost	1812–1815
Sir John Coape Sherbrooke	1816–1818
Charles, Duke of Richmond	1818–1819
George, Earl of Dalhousie	1820–1828

Lord Aylmer	1830–1835
Earl of Gosford	1835–1838
Earl of Durham	May, 1838–Oct., 1838
Sir John Colborne	Jan., 1839–Oct., 1839
Charles Edward Poulett Thomson, Lord Sydenham	1839–1841
Sir Charles Bagot	1842–1843
Sir Charles Metcalfe	1843–1845
Earl of Cathcart	1846–1847
Earl of Elgin	1847–1854
Sir Edmund Head	1854–1861
Viscount Monck	1861–1867

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION

Viscount Monck	1867–1868
Lord Lisgar	1868–1872
Earl of Dufferin	1872–1878
Marquis of Lorne (Duke of Argyle)	1878–1883
Marquis of Lansdowne	1883–1888
Lord Stanley of Preston (Earl of Derby)	1888–1893
Earl of Aberdeen	1893–1898
Earl of Minto	1898–1904
Earl Grey	1904——

MINISTRIES FROM THE UNION TO CONFEDERATION

Sullivan-Dunn	Feb. 13, 1841, to Sept. 15, 1842
La Fontaine-Baldwin	Sept. 16, 1842, to Sept. 30, 1843
Daly	Nov. 28, 1843, to Dec. 11, 1843
Daly-Viger	Dec. 12, 1843, to June 17, 1846
Daly-Draper	June 18, 1846, to May 28, 1847
Daly-Morris	May 29, 1847, to Mar. 10, 1848
La Fontaine-Baldwin	Mar. 11, 1848, to Oct. 27, 1851
Taché-Hincks	Oct. 28, 1851, to Sept. 10, 1854
Taché-Macdonald	Sept. 11, 1854, to Nov. 25, 1857
Macdonald-Cartier	Nov. 26, 1857, to July 29, 1858
Brown-Dorion	Aug. 2, 1858, to Aug. 4, 1858
Cartier-Macdonald	Aug. 6, 1858, to May 23, 1862
(J. S.) Macdonald-Sicotte	May 24, 1862, to May 15, 1863
(J. S.) Macdonald-Dorion	May 16, 1863, to Mar. 29, 1864
Taché-Macdonald	May 30, 1864, to July 30, 1865
Macdonald-Cartier	July 31, 1865, to Aug. 6, 1865
Belleau-Macdonald	Aug. 7, 1865, to June 30, 1867

PRIME MINISTERS OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION

Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald	July 1, 1867, to Nov. 6, 1873
Hon. Alexander Mackenzie	Nov. 7, 1873, to Oct. 16, 1878
The Rt. Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald	Oct. 17, 1878, to June 6, 1891
Hon. Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott	June 15, 1891, to Nov. 24, 1892
The Rt. Hon. Sir John Sparrow David Thompson	Nov. 25, 1892, to Dec. 12, 1894
Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell	Dec. 13, 1894, to April 27, 1896
Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.	April 27, 1896, to July 8, 1896
The Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier	July 9, 1896, to ——

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF ONTARIO

Major-General H. W. Stisted	1867–1868
Hon. W. P. Howland	1868–1873
Hon. John W. Crawford	1873–1875
Hon. D. A. Macdonald	1875–1880
Hon. John Beverley Robinson	1880–1887
Hon. Sir Alexander Campbell	1887–1892
Hon. George A. Kirkpatrick	1892–1897
Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat	1897–1903
Hon. William Mortimer Clark	1903——

PRIME MINISTERS OF ONTARIO

Hon. John Sanfield Macdonald	July 16, 1867, to Dec. 17, 1871
Hon. Edward Blake	Dec. 20, 1871, to Oct. 23, 1872
Hon. Sir Oliver Mowat	Oct. 31, 1872, to July 13, 1896
Hon. Arthur Sturgis Hardy	July 14, 1896, to Oct. 20, 1899
Hon. George William Ross	Oct. 21, 1899, to Feb. 6, 1905
Hon. James Pliny Whitney	Feb. 7, 1905, to ——

IMPORTANT DATES

1492. Discovery of America by Columbus.
1497. The first of the Cabot voyages.
1534. Cartier's first voyage.
1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of [New Foundland.

1600

In the History of Canada		In the History of the Outside World
Champlain's first visit to Canada	1603	**1603–1625. James I.**
The Port Royal settlement planted	1605	
		1607. Jamestown, Virginia, founded by Englishmen.
Quebec founded by Champlain	1608	
Port Royal taken by Argall of Jamestown	1613	
		1620. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, Mass.
		1625–1649. Charles I.
The Company of the Hundred Associates chartered	1627	
Quebec captured by Kirke	1629	
Quebec restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain	1632	1632. The treaty of St. Germain.
Death of Champlain	1635	
Montreal founded by Maisonneuve	1642	
Destruction of the Hurons by the Iroquois	1649	
		1649–1660. The Commonwealth and Protectorate.
		1660–1685. Charles II.
Royal Government established	1663	
		1664. England acquired New York from the Dutch.
The Hudson's Bay Co. chartered by Charles II	1670	
Frontenac made governor	1672	
Marquette and Joliet found the Mississippi	1673	
La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi	1682	
		1685–1688. James II.
		1688–1702. William III. and Mary II.
King William's War began	1689	1689. Outbreak of war between England and France.
The peace of Ryswick restored Acadia to France	1697	1697. The peace of Ryswick.
Frontenac died	1698	

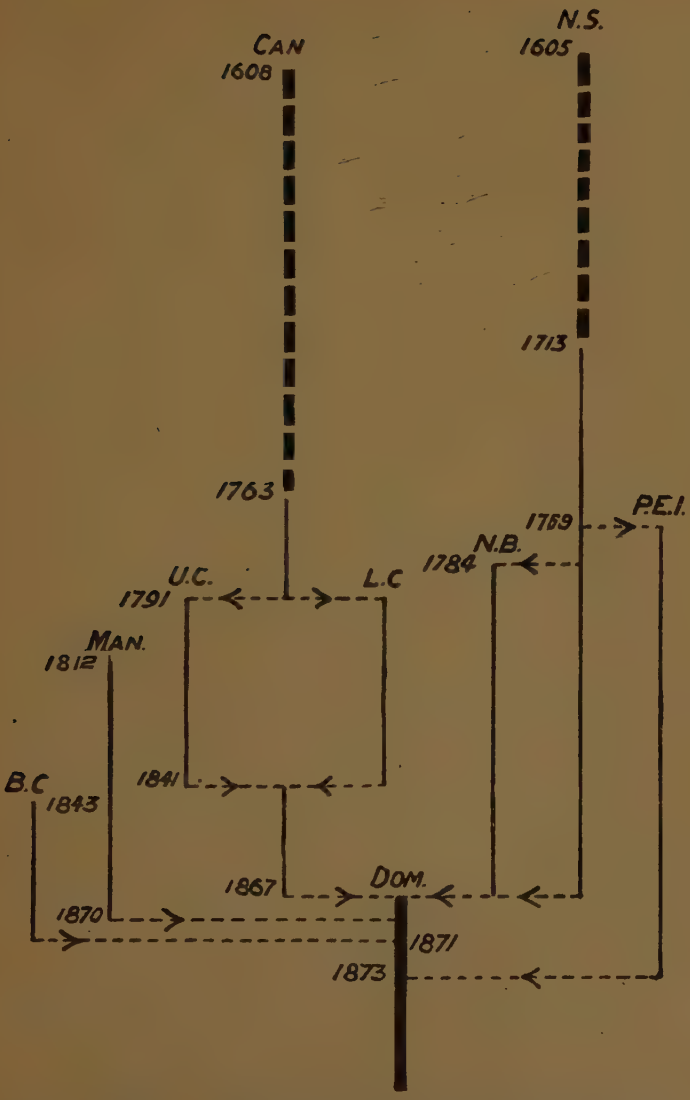
In the History of Canada		In the History of the Outside World
		1702–1714. Anne.
Queen Anne's War began	1702	1702. The War of the Spanish Succession began.
The treaty of Utrecht gave Acadia to England	1713	1713. The treaty of Utrecht.
		1714–1727. George I.
		1727–1760. George II.
Vérendrye set out in search of the Pacific	1731	
		1740. The War of the Austrian Succession began in Europe.
King George's War began	1744	
Louisburg captured by the New Englanders	1745	
The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisburg	1748	1748. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
War began in America—Braddock defeated	1755	
		1756. The Seven Years' War began in Europe.
The capture of Louisburg and Fort Duquesne	1758	
The fall of Quebec	1759	
The fall of Montreal	1760	
		1760–1820. George III.
The treaty of Paris	1763	1763. The treaty of Paris.
Prince Edward Island became a separate province	1769	
The Quebec Act	1774	
Invasion of Canada by the Americans	1775	1775. The beginning of the American Revolution.
The treaty of Versailles	1783	1783. The treaty of Versailles.
New Brunswick became a separate province	1784	
The North-West Fur Co. formed	1784	
The Constitutional Act, creating Upper and Lower Canada	1791	1791. The Constitutional Act passed.
Alex. Mackenzie reached the Pacific	1793	1793. Britain declared war against France.

1800

	1803. Britain declared war against Napoleon.
	1806. Berlin Decree: Orders-in-Council.
	1809. American Non-Intercourse Act.
The War of 1812 began 1812	1812. United States declared war against Great Britain.
The beginning of Manitoba in the Selkirk settlement . 1812	
The treaty of Ghent 1814	1814. The treaty of Ghent between Great Britain and United States.
	1820–1830. George IV.
The H. B. Co. and the North-West Co. united . . 1821	
	1830–1837. William IV.
The Canadian rebellions 1837	**1837–1901. Victoria.**
The union of the Canadas 1841	
The Ashburton Treaty 1842	
British Columbia had its beginning in a settlement on Vancouver Island 1843	
The Oregon Boundary Treaty 1846	
The Reciprocity Treaty 1854	1854. The Reciprocity Treaty signed at Washington.
	1861. Outbreak of the Civil War in United States.
The Charlottetown and Quebec conferences . . . 1864	
The confederation of N.S., N.B., Que., and Ont. . . 1867	1867. The British North America Act.
Manitoba and the North-West admitted to confederation 1870	1867. United States purchased Alaska from Russia.
British Columbia admitted to confederation . . . 1871	
The Washington Treaty 1871	
P.E.I. admitted to confederation 1873	
The Intercolonial Railway opened 1876	
The Saskatchewan Rebellion 1885	
The C. P. Railway completed 1885	
Canada aided Great Britain in South Africa . . 1899–1902	1899. The South African (Boer) War began.

1900

The Alaskan Boundary award 1903	1901– . **Edward VII.**



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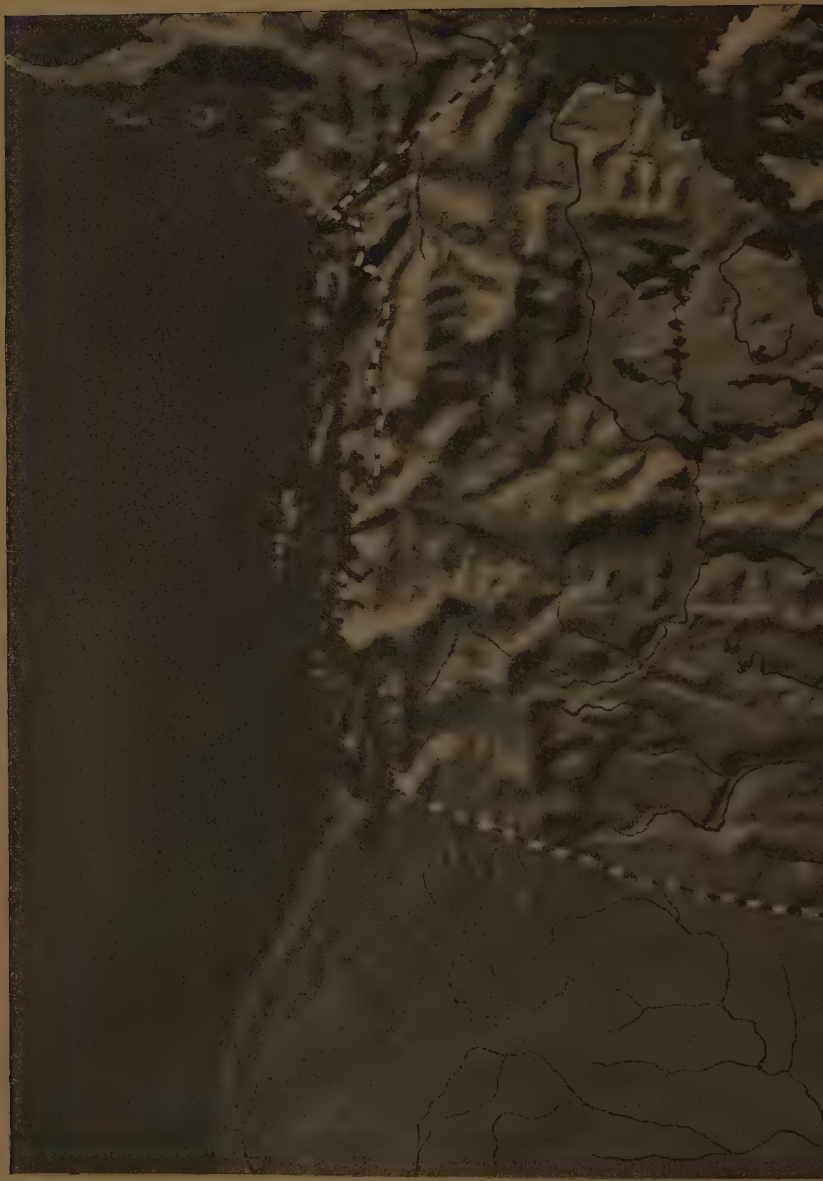
Millar: *Canadian Citizenship.* William Briggs.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS:

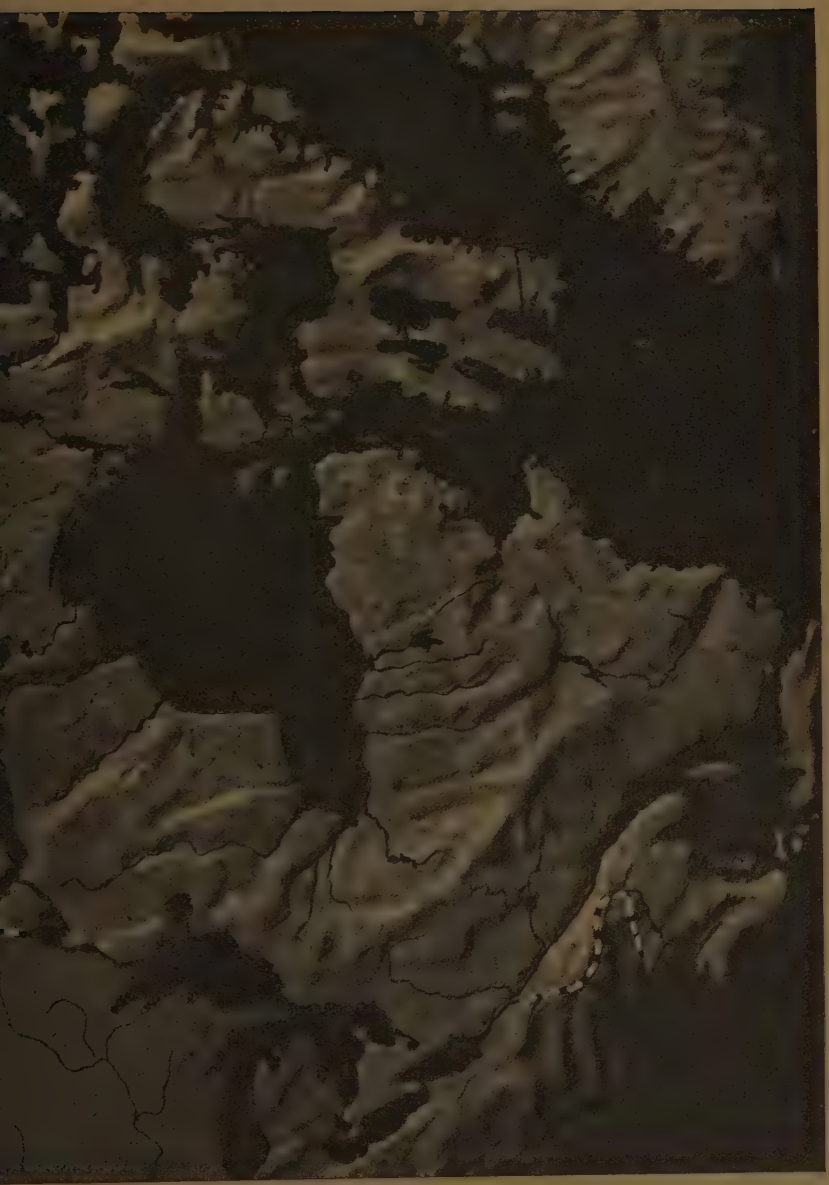
The number of books available for the study of Canadian history is rapidly increasing. Many old works have recently been reprinted, among them Henry's *Travels and Adventures*, Mackenzie's *Voyages* (2 vols.), and Richardson's *War of 1812.* The vast store of historical material preserved in the works of early historians is being utilised by present-day writers in the production of interesting biographical sketches of the men who have shared in the making of Canada. To this class belong Thwaites's *Father Marquette*, Willson's *Lord Strathcona*, Bourinot's *Lord Elgin*, Burwash's *Egerton Ryerson*, De Celles's *Papineau and Cartier*, Miss McIlwraith's *Haldimand*, Longley's *Howe*, and Lady Edgar's *Brock.* These last six volumes belong to the *Makers of Canada* series (Morang & Co., Limited), which, when complete, will include also the biographies of Champlain, Frontenac, Laval, Wolfe, Montcalm, Dorchester, Simcoe, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Durham, Selkirk, Simpson, Sydenham, Strachan, Douglas, William Lyon Mackenzie, Baldwin, Brown, Dorion, Macdonald, and Alexander Mackenzie.

HISTORICAL NOVELS:

A large number of excellent works of fiction dealing with events and periods in Canadian History have been published. Among the best of these are the following: Kirby's *The Golden Dog;* Lespérance's *Les Bastonnais;* Marryat's *Settlers in Canada;* Richardson's *Wacousta* and *The Canadian Brothers;* Doyle's *The Refugees;* Marquis's *Marguerite de Roberval;* Catherwood's *Romance of Dollard;* Lightall's *The Young Seigneur;* Harrison's *The Forest of Bourg-Marie;* Henty's *With Wolfe in Canada;* Oxley's *With Fife and Drum at Louisbourg;* Adam and Wetherall's *An Algonquin Maiden;* Roberts's *The Forge in the Forest* and *A Sister to Evangeline;* Laut's *Heralds of Empire* and *The Lords of the North*, and Parker's *The Trail of the Sword* and *The Seats of the Mighty.*



Physical Map



Dominion of Canada.

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

THE COUNTRY

1. Introduction. — The physical features of a country exert a strong influence upon the history of its inhabitants. A cold climate, for instance, produces a hardier race than does a warm one. The character of the soil may determine the occupation of the people. Harbours, rivers, and lakes, especially before the day of railways, determine the position of settlements, and also serve as routes of commerce.

2. Canada's Extent. — Canada embraces all of the American continent north of the United States, with the exception of Alaska, which belongs to the latter country, Newfoundland, which although British is not yet part of the Dominion, and two or three small French islands south of Newfoundland. The statement that the area of Canada is about three million five hundred thousand square miles does not convey any real impression of the vastness of the country. It is larger than the United States by more than the area of Scotland; it makes up one-third of the British Empire, and nearly one-fifteenth of the whole earth's surface. If Canada were divided into 350 parts, Nova Scotia would form 2 of these, New Brunswick less than 3, Ontario 10,

Manitoba 12, Quebec 19, British Columbia 35, and the organised portion of the Territories 43.

3. Natural Divisions. — The country falls naturally into three great divisions. The vast forest section, from which for four centuries settlers have been hewing out homes, extends from the Atlantic to the west of Lake Superior. Where the timber land ceases there begins the great central stretch of prairie, whose undulating surface rises and falls over a sweep of a thousand miles until it reaches the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. The third division, the Pacific, sloping from the Rockies to the ocean, is for the most part a sea of mountains hiding in its depths untold mineral wealth.

4. Waterways. — Canada has been called the country of waterways, as it surpasses all others in the area and navigable extent of its rivers and lakes. These waterways have played, especially before the building of railways, a great part in the commercial development of the country. The courses of the rivers are determined by the position of the mountains. The two great ranges running up from the south of the continent, one along the east, the other along the west coast, are, where they reach Canada, nearly four thousand miles apart. The eastern at the north has two cross ranges of tablelands, between which the St. Lawrence escapes to the Atlantic. Turning to the far west, we find that most of the great rivers of the continent take their rise within a limited area at the base of the Rocky Mountains. The Mackenzie flows north into the Arctic Ocean; the Saskatchewan east into Lake Winnipeg, whose overflow is carried on by the Nelson to

Rivers

Hudson Bay; the Missouri and the Mississippi mingle their waters to roll on together to the Gulf of Mexico; while down the western slope to the Pacific rush the Fraser and the Columbia. From a source not far north the great Yukon runs its long course to Behring Strait.

A remarkable part of the water system of Canada is the chain of lakes which, beginning with Great Bear and ending with Lake Ontario, stretches almost from the Arctic to the Atlantic. Hudson Bay, too, like an immense lake, penetrates the heart of the country to a distance of thirteen hundred miles. These many lakes and rivers have rendered this land of vast area easy of access and settlement, and have, moreover, furnished ready routes of transportation.

Lakes

5. Soil and Climate. — A country of Canada's extent naturally possesses a great variety of soil. While, for example, the prairies of the central division are very fertile, there are vast areas of barren lands lying between them and the Arctic Ocean. A country, too, extending from the forty-ninth to the seventieth parallel of latitude presents an equally great variety of climate. It has, in fact, been said that in Canada can be found all the climates of Europe.

6. Industries. — If Canada's soil and climate are varied, no less so are her industries. Forest, stream, prairie, and mountain have given of their treasures to lumberman, fisherman, farmer, and miner, while everywhere fur-bearing animals, until driven back by the advance of civilisation, have enriched the trapper.

7. Relation to the World. — A glance at a map will show how favourable is the position of Canada with ref-

erence to the world at large. To the south of a border line that extends three thousand miles, lies a land whose resources are as inexhaustible as her own. Atlantic and Pacific alike afford ideal harbours. From those upon the east coast there is easy water communication with Europe; from those upon the west, with China, Japan, and the islands of the Pacific.

Section 2

The Native Races

8. The Mound-builders. — More than four hundred years have passed since America was first discovered by European seamen. The people who were then found in possession of the country were not its first inhabitants. All over North America there are still to be seen earthen mounds of great number and huge size, undoubted traces of a prehistoric race. That the mound-builders reached an advanced stage of civilisation, we know from the remains of their manufactures, such as flint arrow-heads and axes, appliances for spinning, and copper implements. That copper mines were worked is proved by the many excavations along the north shore of Lake Superior. Great mystery overhangs this primitive race, many men taking the view that the Indians themselves were the mound-builders.

9. The Eskimos and Indians. — The later occupants of the country, with whom the early European explorers and colonists came in contact, may be divided into two classes: Eskimos, the fishermen found along the northern shores and rivers, and Indians, the hunters and

warriors who roamed over the vast land stretching from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic Ocean to the valley of the Mississippi. The Indian race falls into three great groups, — the Algonquin, Iroquois, and Mobilian, but of the third Canadian history takes no account.

AN ESKIMO MAN.

10. Description of the Eskimos. — The Eskimos, taking their name from an Indian word meaning "eaters of raw flesh," call themselves "Innuit" or "the people." Rather short and stout of stature, they are disposed to stay at home and are little given to roaming. There is some doubt as to the origin of this people of the north. Some think that they came from Asia; others that Alaska was their original home, from which they crossed Behring Strait into the Asiatic continent. Although few in number, not exceeding twenty thousand, they occupied a great extent of territory, stretching from Behring Strait to the east

coast of Labrador. As they have no written records, what little is known of the Eskimos, their origin and wanderings, has been learned from a study of dwellings, fishing implements, and present customs. The men occupy themselves with fishing and hunting, the women with housework, mainly the preparation of food, of which owing to the cold they eat great quantities. The dress of the men and the women is much the same, made of skins of animals, birds, or even fish, attention being paid to warmth rather than to appearance. The Eskimos are described as dark of complexion, although one traveller says that if their faces were well washed they would be found to be white.

11. The Algonquin Tribes. — When the bold European sailors, in search of a passage to the East Indies, touched upon the coast of the American continent, they thought that they had reached some part of India, and so called the natives Indians. The two great families which play a part in the history of Canada, the Algonquin and Iroquois, occupied the country extending from Virginia to Hudson Bay, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The Algonquin tribes were very widely scattered, their common speech being heard in many dialects from Nova Scotia to the ice-bound land of the Eskimo. Along the wooded streams of Maine were to be found the Abenakis, living upon the spoils of the hunt. The streams and forests of Acadia furnished an attractive home for the Micmacs, from among whom the French missionaries were later to win their first convert. Upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, the Montagnais, or Mountaineers, eked out a wretched existence, often in

a state of starvation which drove them to cannibalism. Upon the upper Ottawa were two Algonquin tribes, the Nation of the Isle (Allumette) and the Nipissings. Unlike many of their kinsmen, the former, to some extent, cultivated the soil. The north shores of Lakes Nipissing, Huron, and Superior were peopled by a hardy section of Algonquins, the Ojibways. These as they extended farther into the west were better known as the Crees.

AN IROQUOIS LONG HOUSE.
This picture shows the size rather than the structure of the house.

The Blackfeet, at the base of the Rockies, were probably also of the Algonquin family.

12. The Iroquois and Hurons. — Lying within this great circle of Algonquin tribes were the Hurons of the Georgian Bay district and the Iroquois to the south of Lake Ontario. The latter, who called themselves "the people of the long house," because they lived in villages of "long houses," also bore the name of the Five Nations, being a confederacy of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas; after the admission at a later date of the Tuscaroras, the league became known as the Six Nations. The Iroquois and Hurons were probably

of the same family, and at an early date lived side by side. There is a legend which may explain their later enmity. It was against the law of the two communities for their men and women to intermarry. In defiance of this law an Iroquois chief married a Huron maiden, but as the union proved an unhappy one, he one day in a fit of anger killed his wife. A relative of the slain woman took vengeance by killing an Iroquois warrior. Both tribes raised the hatchet, and in the war which followed the Hurons were driven out of their old home. Whether this story is true or not, we later find these two members of one great family engaged in a death struggle. Then the Hurons made an alliance with the Algonquins against their more powerful kinsmen.

13. The Sioux. — It is thought that the Iroquois originally came north by way of the Mississippi River, and that at the mouth of the Ohio a division of the nation took place, many continuing their northern journey to the country west of Lake Superior. Here they became known as the Dakotas, or Sioux. So like were these to the Five Nation Indians that the French explorers called them the "Little Iroquois of the West." At an early date a feud broke out among the Dakotas, which resulted in another division. One-half of the tribe moved north and settled upon the Assiniboine. These were the "Sioux of the Stony River," — the meaning of the word "Assiniboine" in Cree, — who, coming into contact with the Crees, were soon on friendly terms with them.

14. The Strength of the Indian Nations. — The Indian population of Canada was not, considering the size of the country, very great. By far the most numerous were the

MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF CANADA
HUDSON BAY
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
MACKENZIE R.
GT BEAR LAKE
GT SLAVE LAKE
PEACE R.
ATHABASKA R.
L. ATHABASKA
ATHABASKANS OR CHIPPEWYANS
HAIDAS
KUTENAIS
FRAZER R.
SALISH OR SHUSWAP
BLACKFEET
WOOD CREES
SASKATCHEWAN R.
PLAIN CREES
CHURCHILL
NELSON R.
L. WINNIPEG
L. MANITOBA
R. ASSINIBOINE
ASSINIBOINES
MUSKEGONS OR SWAMPY CREES
ALBANY R.
SALTEAUX
LAKE OF WOODS
OJIBWAYS
L. SUPERIOR
DAKOTAS OR SIOUX
R. MISSISSIPPI
NIPISSINGS
OTTAWAS
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
HURONS
L. ONTARIO
NEUTRALS
ERIES
IROQUOIS
ONONDAGAS
ONEIDAS
MOHAWKS
MIAMIS
OTTAWA R.
ALGONQUINS
MONTAGNAIS
ST. LAWRENCE R.
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
NEW FOUNDLAND
NEW BRUNSWICK
MICMACS
NOVA SCOTIA
ABENAKIS
MAINE

Algonquins, of whom there were about ninety thousand. The thirty-two villages of the Hurons contained twenty thousand men, women, and children. The Iroquois, powerful though they were in war, at no time mustered more than three thousand fighting men. The strength of the Five Nations, reduced by continual warfare, was recruited by a peculiar custom. Whenever a warrior was slain, his relatives might adopt into their family one of the prisoners brought in by the war parties. The newly adopted, grateful for being saved from torture and death, became one with his captors and later fought with them against his former kinsmen. Even white men, French and English, in this way became members of an Indian tribe, and in the enjoyment of the freedom of forest life refused to return to civilisation, even when they had a chance to do so.

15. Description of Indian Life. — The Algonquins, especially those of the north, were simply wandering hunters. When they had exhausted the game of one district, they struck their crude tents and moved off to new hunting-grounds. The Hurons and Iroquois, on the contrary, lived a more settled life, and naturally among them we find greater progress towards civilisation.

Food

These more provident tribes stored supplies of food for the winter in deep holes, called by the French *caches*. As game was scarce in the Huron country and even among the Iroquois, the common food was corn, cooked in a great variety of forms. Venison was a rare luxury, while dog flesh was looked upon with great favour.

Among the more settled tribes the houses, grouped

with no regard to order, were very long, ranging from thirty to two hundred and fifty feet in length. The walls were built of two rows of saplings bent together and lashed at the top. These were covered with large sheets of oak, elm, or spruce bark. Along the top ridge an opening a foot in width was left, to admit light and let out smoke. At each end of the dwelling a porch gave room for storing supplies of fish and corn. Within, along both sides, were ledges four feet from the floor, upon which the inmates slept, and beneath which was stored the fire-

Dwellings

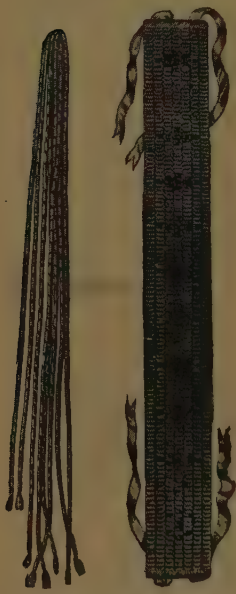
AN INDIAN BARK CANOE.

wood. At intervals, down the middle of the dwelling, were built several fires, each in the winter season serving for two families. One dwelling-house of this kind sometimes held as many as twenty families.

Indian towns, especially where exposed to the attack of an enemy, were placed in positions which gave them great strength in defence. Thus we find them upon the shore of a lake, on the top of a hill, or at the junction of two rivers. Around the town was dug a ditch several feet deep, the earth being piled up on the inside. Within this rampart, palisades were set up, consisting of several rows of high stakes

Fortified towns

inclining to one another and intersecting. Upon the inside these stakes were lined with sheets of bark, and at the top was built a gallery of timber. The gallery supported supplies of stones and water, which were thrown or poured down upon the heads of the besiegers. The strongest of all these fortified towns were found among the Iroquois.



WAMPUM AND WAMPUM BELT.

Where the natives were permanently settled in villages, they became expert in the manufacture of many useful articles. Among these were earthen pots, mats woven from rushes, twine twisted from hemp, stone axes, flint spear and arrow heads, and bone fish-hooks. The greatest of skill was displayed by the Hurons in the construction of the graceful and durable birch-bark canoe. The most remarkable fabric, which was common to many tribes, was the *wampum*, made at first of coloured shells, later of beads obtained from the white men. Of this material were made all kinds of ornaments, such as necklaces, collars, belts, and bracelets. The belt of *wampum* played an important part in all treaties, every speech or even division of a speech being enforced with a gift of this highly prized ornament. The *wampum* was also used as money.

Wampum

Among the Hurons, once a woman passed beyond

the age of youth she became a drudge. "In March and April she gathered the year's supply of firewood. Then came sowing, tilling and harvesting, smoking fish, dressing skins, making cordage or clothing, and preparing food." In travelling the squaws carried the heavy burdens, for, as the French explorer Champlain tells us, "their women were their mules." Apart from the building of houses, the making of weapons, pipes, and canoes, the men while at home were idle. In summer and autumn they were busy waging war, hunting, or fishing. With the beginning of the new year came the season of festivals, when the warriors were idle, and even the squaws had some leisure.

The drudgery of women

Gambling was with most Indians a passion. One game of chance they played with plum stones, black on one side and white on the other, which they tossed in a wooden bowl, betting upon the "turn up." That the betting was sometimes high we gather from a Jesuit missionary who tells us that, "Once in midwinter, with the snow three feet deep, the men of his village returned from a gambling visit bereft of their leggings and barefoot, yet in excellent humour." Interesting, too, is the account of a village feast. The invitation was very simple, the guest being bidden by a messenger to "come and eat." This invitation was always accepted, the guest taking with him his own dish and spoon. Arrived at the scene of the banquet, the visitors ranged themselves about the kettles slung over the fires in the centre of the dwelling, some squatted upon the floor, others seated upon the beds along the walls.

Gambling

Feasting

AN INDIAN DRUM.

At a signal from the host attendant squaws filled the bowls, and the feast began. That good appetites were the rule, may be inferred from the fact that the feasting was often prolonged throughout the whole day.

The Indians had no written laws such as govern all communities of white men to-day. It is surprising, therefore, that people who were so fierce in their dealings with outsiders should have lived peaceably together in large towns. The explanation is to be found in the fact that they were strongly influenced by customs, and had a complete system of usages to control their actions. They were always ready to help one another. Whenever a young woman was married, the other women of the village supplied her with firewood for a year. When a family was without shelter, the men joined in building them a home. They were, moreover, hospitable and sociable. The poor and outcast had only to enter

INDIAN WITH TOMAHAWK.

Hospitality

a house, and food was set before him. In addition to their dances and feasts, they indulged in considerable visiting, passing the time in chatting and joking, their jokes being, we are told, not always free from coarseness.

In organisation one feature was common to almost all Indians east of the Mississippi. The tribe was divided into several clans. As the members of a clan were close blood relatives, no intermarrying among them was allowed, so that each family contained members of at least two clans. Each clan had an emblem or coat of arms, usually the figure of a hawk, wolf, or tortoise, called by the Algonquins a *totem*. A child belonged to the clan, not of his father, but of his mother, receiving through the latter not only the *totem*, but his rank, titles, and possessions.

The totem

All Indians were very superstitious, having strange ideas about nature. They thought that birds, beasts, and reptiles could feel and perceive like men, that they could hear human prayer and influence human life. Thus an Indian has been known to make a long speech of apology to a wounded bear; he has also been known to treat with great care the bones of a dead beaver for fear of offending the living brothers. They thought, too, that in lakes, rivers, and waterfalls dwelt spirits or living beings, and they strove to win the favour of these by means of gifts. Whenever, for instance, the Indians passed the great cataract of the Ottawa River, they cast a gift, usually of tobacco, into the foaming waters, at the same time offering a prayer to the local spirit, or *Manitou*. The Hurons, in order to get the best

The Indian's superstition

possible service out of their fishing-nets, married them each year to two young girls of the tribe. Dreams played an important part in the life of the Indian. They told him the cure of diseases, taught him the position and plans of his enemy, or the haunts of game. His belief that every object in nature might affect him for good or evil, kept him in constant fear. "The fall of a leaf, the movement of an animal, or the cry of a bird" was to him a sign of good or evil fortune. Two classes, the sorcerers and medicine-men, worked upon these superstitious fears. By charms, magic songs, and feasts the sorcerer pretended to control the evil spirits in animals and inanimate objects. It was upon dreams, the beating of drums, dancing and howling, rather than upon natural remedies, that the medicine-man relied for his cures.

INDIAN TOMAHAWK, KETTLE, SPOON, PIPES, ETC.

The Indian's idea of a "Supreme Being" was not

a high one. When he tried to think of the One who made the world, he brought Him down to the level of a man. The Indian had no one word to express the idea of God, for a *Manitou* meant anything which he thought of as possessing more than human power; it might be an old snakeskin. The missionaries had some success in making use of the Indian's belief that every species of animal had its king. "If each kind of animal has its king," they said, "so too have men; and as man is above all the animals, so is the spirit that rules over men the master of all the other spirits." In this way many were brought to realise that there is one great Spirit controlling all things.

The Manitou

Such were the people whom the pioneers of our own race found lording it over the North American continent. In his dealings with these intruders the Indian displayed two very marked characteristics: a love of freedom, and a spirit of revenge. This untamed savage of the forest could not bring himself to submit to the restraints of an eastern civilisation, and, as the newcomer pushed inland from the Atlantic, he withdrew further and further west rather than part with his beloved freedom. In his treatment of his ignorant neighbour the settler was not always just, and his injustice drew down upon him the vengeful enmity of a foe that never forgot an injury. Thus we find the early pages of Canadian history filled with the records of Indian warfare, with all its horrors, and, most hideous of all, the ravages of the scalping-knife. This custom of removing the skin and top hair

The Indian character

from a victim's head arose, the Indians tell us, as follows. A great chief once offered his beautiful daughter in marriage to the brave who would kill a member of a neighbouring tribe who was his personal enemy, and bring him the dead body. The young warrior who succeeded in the killing and was carrying home the body of his victim in order to gain the coveted prize, finding himself hotly pursued and his burden growing heavier and heavier, cut it down bit by bit until by the time he reached home there was nothing left but the scalp. This was enough to show that he had done the deed. Though this may be only a legend, scalping became the revolting practice of Indian war parties, and for many long years struck terror to the hearts of the border settlers both French and English.

Scalping

PART I

CANADA UNDER FRENCH RULE

THE CHAMPLAIN MONUMENT AT QUEBEC.

PART I

CANADA UNDER FRENCH RULE

CHAPTER I

1000–1534

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

16. Who discovered America? — Who from the Old World first discovered this new land over which the Eskimo and the Indian held undisputed sway? Many answers are given to this question, several nations claiming the credit. This uncertainty is due to the fact that some early navigators have left no record of their travels. Others, however, have handed down minute accounts of their voyages, describing a wild race of men, strange animals, vast forests, and mighty rivers. Unfortunately a few narrators, in their desire to win fame, have not written the truth. There are, therefore, some questions connected with the period of discovery which cannot be answered.

17. The Northmen. — The historical tales and myths of the Northmen — the name applied to the people of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland — are called *sagas*. These tell us that as early as the year 1000 Leif Ericson, "a large man and strong, of noble aspect," together with thirty-five of his country-

Leif Ericson, 1000

men, reached the coast of North America, landing upon the shore of Labrador or that of Newfoundland. These Vikings, — sons of the fjord, — in their "dragon" ships, with high curved bows and sterns, driven by either oars or sails, coasted south to a land of great trees which they called Markland (woodland), probably Nova Scotia. A few days' sail from this place brought them to a shore

Early Norse Explorers.

overgrown with grape-vines, to which they gave the name of Vineland. Many points in the New England States might answer to this favoured spot. Another *saga* tells us of a rich Northman who founded a colony in Vineland, bringing over settlers and cattle, and opening with the natives a trade in furs. Of these early visitors to our continent no traces remain, and to find a truly historical record of discovery we must turn elsewhere.

Vineland

18. The Treasures of the East. — Towards the close of the fifteenth century the nations of Europe began to take an interest in the outside world, and voyages of discovery became very common. Wherever a new land was discovered, in that direction commerce was extended. The country to which the eyes of European merchants most eagerly turned was India — the land of silks and spices, of gold and precious stones. The nations along the Mediterranean shores, being upon the direct route of trade between the East and the West, grew wealthy. The old route to India involved the crossing in caravans of a long stretch of desert, a journey which, in addition to being laborious, was rendered dangerous by the hostility of the Turks. On this account mariners kept seeking a sea passage to India. Stories were brought home by travellers in the East telling of the wonderful wealth of India and the island of Cipango (Japan). Gold, rumour said, was so plentiful, that the royal palaces were covered with it. These stories spurred on the work of exploration, which was at this time made much easier by the invention of the mariners' compass. "Its trembling finger led men to dare the deeps of ocean in a way they never ventured to do before."

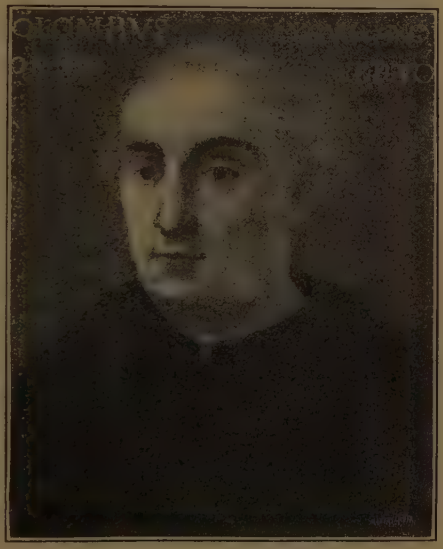
India

19. Christopher Columbus. — The most famous seamen of the age were the Portuguese, who had already visited many of the islands of the Atlantic, and were now trying to reach India by sailing along the coast of Africa. One captain had passed around the southern extremity of the dark continent, and this point the king had called the Cape of Good Hope, as he thought there was now

GREEN-
LAND
ICELAND
ROUTE OF NORSE EXPLORERS
BRITISH
ISLES
CABOT'S VOYAGE, 1497
EUROPE
NEWFOUNDLAND
NORTH
AMERICA
VERRAZANO, 1524
CORTEREAL, 1500
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS, 1492
AFRICA
WEST INDIA
ISLANDS
VOYAGES
OF
DISCOVERY

a bright prospect of getting to India. Sailing with one of these Portuguese expeditions was a Genoese youth whose name has since become renowned the world over. Christopher Columbus early showed a strong liking for the study of geography and for a sea-faring life — a desire which he satisfied by taking service as a boy-mariner at the age of fourteen. His dream was to find India by water, and this he purposed to do by sailing due west. For ages most men had thought of the world as flat, and of the ocean as a great river flowing around it, but Columbus declared that the earth was round, and that by holding a westerly course he would come upon the land which all men were seeking. Nor were there lacking, even at that time, traditions of a western land, which some Portuguese mariners were said to have sighted.

His aim



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

So little did men believe in the new idea of a round world, that Columbus had great difficulty in securing ships and men for his voyage. While his brother

sought aid from the kings of England and France, he himself visited the courts of southern Europe. Finally he met with success at the Spanish court, Queen Isabella pledging her crown jewels to raise money for the undertaking. Three small caravels were fitted out, and manned with one hun-

At the Spanish court

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

dred and twenty men, most of them criminals set free for the purpose. On Friday, August 3, 1492, the tiny fleet put out from the port of Palos into the unknown ocean. One night, about seventy days later, the welcome cry of "land" was heard. In the morning light the richly wooded shore of one of the Bahamas rose to view. The Europeans gazed in amazement upon a wonderful land of strange trees, plants, and animals, upon the copper-coloured savages

The great discovery, 1492

who crowded eagerly to the water's edge. The astonishment of the natives may well be imagined. They saw in the fair complexion and strange costumes of the Spaniards, "children of the sun" come down to visit the world. The Old World had met the New, and the era of American history had dawned.

20. The North-west Passage. — The veil of mystery overhanging the western ocean had partly lifted. Columbus had pointed the way, and there were many to follow his daring example. Voyage succeeded voyage, some in the tracks of the great discoverer, others taking new routes to the north-west. Although India was still far distant, yet a new world had been discovered, the resources of which could amply satisfy the ambition of explorers and the greed of fortune hunters. Nor did the knowledge that a barrier lay between them and India discourage those who sought that land of promise, for they still hoped to reach their goal by way of a north-west passage. The finding of this passage was for centuries to be the dream of bold mariners, and was to cost the world dear in ships and men.

21. The Cabots. — Among those whom the success of Columbus fired with a zeal for western exploration were John Cabot and his son Sebastian. The Cabots were of a Venetian family, which had moved to England and settled in the stirring seaport town of Bristol. In 1497, John Cabot, who had devoted himself to the study of geography, and who was, moreover, a keen merchant, succeeded in obtaining from Henry VII a charter granting trading privileges. His ambition was twofold, — "to bring back so many

The first voyage, 1497

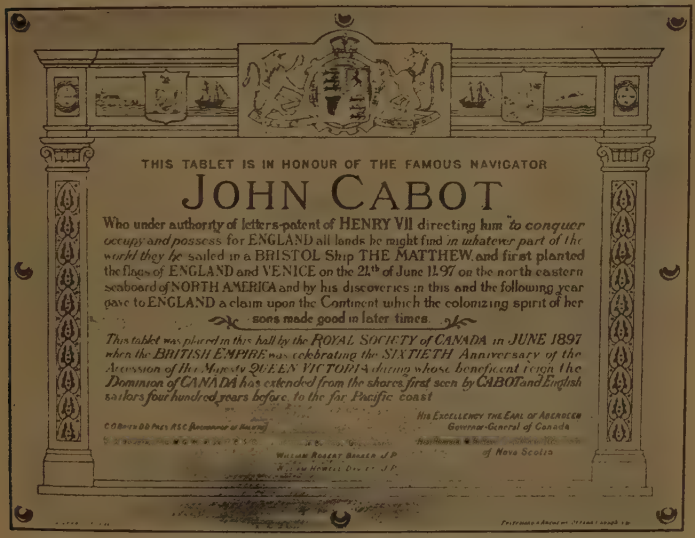
fish that England will have no more business with Iceland," and to find a north-west passage to India. Needless to say the latter was the desire dear to the heart of Cabot, yet he, like Columbus, was doomed to disappointment.

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

It was no Eldorado that this daring sailor reached, but the bleak coast of Labrador, or, as some think, the rock-bound shore of Newfoundland. It is said that he heard the inhabitants of this new land speak of "Baccalaos"—the Basque for cod; from this fact some men judge that even before this time French fishermen had visited these distant shores. One old writer has described the country as "a cold region whose inhabitants are idolatrous, and pray to the sun and moon and divers idols. They are white people, very rustical, for they eat flesh and fish and all other things raw. Sometimes, also, they eat man's flesh. The apparel of both men and women is made of bears' skins, although they have sable and martens. Some of them go naked in summer, and wear apparel only in winter."

Cabot upon his return to England found himself in

high favour. He had been the first to touch upon the mainland of North America. From the king he received, in recognition of his services, the rather modest reward of ten pounds, given to "hym that founde the new ile." Sebastian Cabot had accompanied his father upon the first voyage, and in the following year they


THIS TABLET IS IN HONOUR OF THE FAMOUS NAVIGATOR
JOHN CABOT
Who under authority of letters-patent of HENRY VII directing him to conquer occupy and possess for ENGLAND all lands he might find in whatever part of the world they lie sailed in a BRISTOL Ship THE MATTHEW and first planted the flags of ENGLAND and VENICE on the 24th of June 1497 on the north eastern seaboard of NORTH AMERICA and by his discoveries in this and the following year gave to ENGLAND a claim upon the Continent which the colonizing spirit of her sons made good in later times.
This tablet was placed in this hall by the ROYAL SOCIETY of CANADA in JUNE 1897 when the BRITISH EMPIRE was celebrating the SIXTIETH Anniversary of the Accession of Her Majesty QUEEN VICTORIA during whose beneficent reign the Dominion of CANADA has extended from the shores first seen by CABOT and English sailors four hundred years before to the far Pacific coast
HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF ABERDEEN
Governor-General of Canada
of Nova Scotia

THE CABOT TABLET AT HALIFAX.

together made a second visit to the New World, this time following the coast southwards, some say to Cape Cod. Some years later Sebastian made a third expedition, evidently in search of the north-west passage; but the ice-floes of Hudson Strait forced this ambitious seaman to turn back from his quest.

The later voyages

The Cabot voyages had been a failure as regards the

finding of a new route to India, yet they resulted in very real gain to England. In the first place, they opened up to English merchants an industry which has proved of permanent value. The gold mines of the much-sought East might fail, but not so the inexhaustible supply of fish that clung in shoals to the Banks of Newfoundland. In the second place, the long-continued search for the north-west passage, begun by the two seamen of Bristol, together with the hardships and dangers of the cod fisheries, produced a race of seamen whose hardihood and daring reached their highest development in such "sea dogs" as Drake and Hawkins.

Importance of the Cabot voyages

22. Cortereal, 1500. — The little country of Portugal, which had for years been the home of great seamen, was not to be denied the honour of sending one of her sons to the shores of the new-found continent. About the year 1500 Gaspar Cortereal visited the coast which the Cabots had traced, and carried back to Europe with him some savages and white bears. From a later voyage this ill-fated explorer never returned.

23. Verrazano, 1524. — The king of France, learning what the other European nations were doing in the West, roused himself to take part in the division of the new land. "Shall the kings of Spain and Portugal," he exclaimed, "divide all America between them without giving me a share? I should like to see the clause in Father Adam's will that makes them his sole heirs!" In 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine, sailed from the French port of Dieppe, bearing the king's orders to take possession of all the lands he might discover.

Verrazano's field of exploration seems to have been the coast-line between Carolina and Nova Scotia. He has left an interesting account of this "newe land," as he calls it, "never before seen by any man either auncient or moderne." He tells of the friendly character of the natives, who upon one occasion rescued a sailor who had been cast upon the shore by the waves. This kindness was but poorly repaid by Verrazano himself, who seized and carried off to France a boy of eight. The account given of the trading with the Indians shows how suspicious the latter were of the newcomers. By a rope suspended from the brink of a high rock they would let down their furs, having first drawn up fish-hooks, knives, and similar articles of barter. If the French ventured to land, they were met with a shower of darts.

Trading with the Indians

24. "America." — Thus were the shores of the new continent visited by Europeans, who, clinging to the hope of finding India, explored the coast-line piece by piece. The land might well have derived its name from that of the dauntless mariner who was the first to venture the crossing of the broad Atlantic, but this was not to be. The name of one Amerigo Vespucci, who after paying several visits to the West wrote an account of his wanderings, has been preserved in that of a great continent.

CHAPTER II

1534–1603

CARTIER

25. Cartier's First Voyage, 1534. — From the old seaport of St. Malo, on the coast of France, many a fearless sailor had ventured the perils of the sea, but none bolder than Jacques Cartier, who, in April, 1534, commanding two tiny vessels, laid his course for the land which Verrazano had visited. The king of France had been slow to enter the new field of empire, but once entered, he was bent upon securing his share of territory. Cartier was to take possession of all lands in the name of France, seek for minerals and furs, and if possible find a way through to Cathay (China). After a safe passage of the Atlantic, Cartier entered the Strait of Belle Isle and coasted along the bleak shores of Labrador, barren enough, he thought, "to be the land allotted of God to Cain." Leaving this uninviting region, he sailed south across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and, searching for an opening into the mainland, finally entered what he called *La Baie de Chaleur* (the Bay of Heat).

Here Indians came flocking to the shore to see the strange intruders. "We," says the explorer in his account of the voyage, "sent two men ashore with hatchets and knives, beads, and other merchandise, at which they showed great joy. Then they came in a

crowd in their boats to where we were, with skins and whatever they had, to obtain our wares. . . . We saw that they were people whom it would be easy to convert; they go from place to place, living by capturing fish at the fishing season. Their country is in climate more temperate than Spain, and the most beautiful it is possible to see, and as level as a pond." From this point, Cartier followed the coast northwestwards and landed at Gaspé. Here he erected a huge wooden cross, thirty feet in height, bearing the inscription, "Long live the King of France," thus claiming the surrounding country in the name of his sovereign. From Gaspé the homeward voyage was begun, but not before two sons of a native chief were enticed on board and persuaded to visit France.

At Gaspé

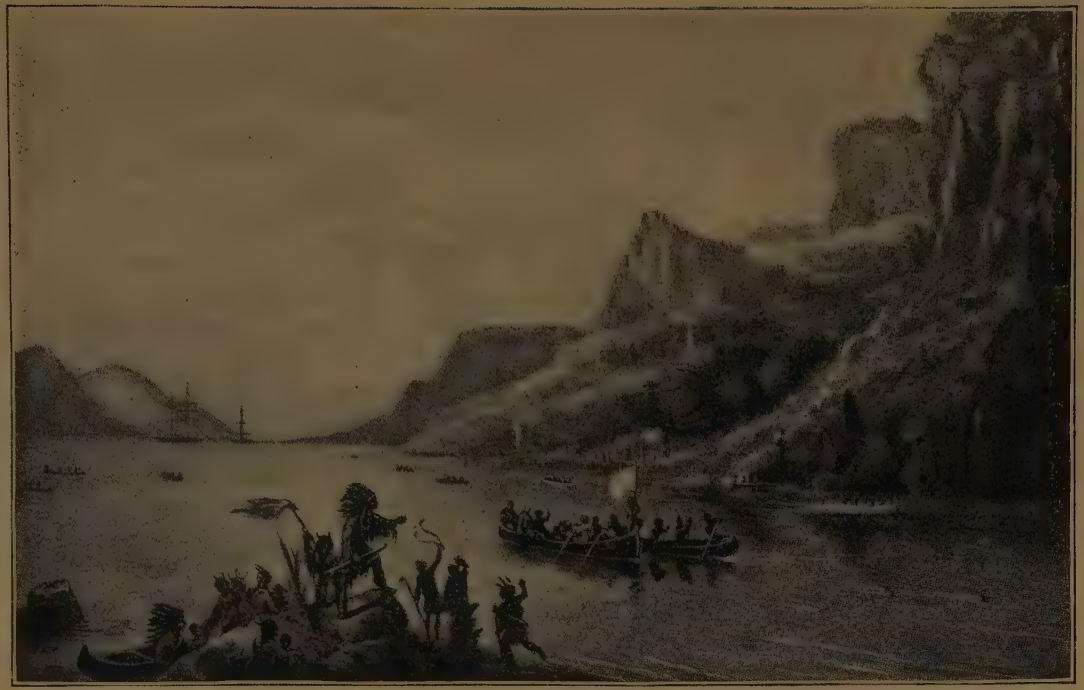
JACQUES CARTIER.

26. The Second Voyage, 1535–1536. — So great was the interest aroused in France by the story of his experiences, that Cartier was able in the following year, despite the jealous opposition of rival merchants, to

fit out a fleet of three vessels for a second voyage. Again he passed through the Strait of Belle Isle and entered the great gulf, which, as it was the festival day of the saint, he called St. Lawrence, a name extended later to the river. This time the explorer held a westerly course, passing the island of Anticosti. Piloted by the two Indians whom he had brought back with him from France, he ascended the St. Lawrence to an island covered with vines, "such," he says, "as we had never before seen." To this was given the appropriate name of Isle of Bacchus. Here the natives came swarming about the ships, the bolder even on to the decks, eager to hear the wonderful stories of their restored countrymen. "They showed their joy, danced, and performed various antics." Cartier gladly accepted the invitation of their chief, Donnacona, to visit the village of Stadacona, a mere cluster of wigwams upon the ground now occupied by the city of Quebec. Here the visitors were greeted with the enthusiastic welcome of children and squaws, the latter rushing out and "dancing knee-deep in the water."

Stadacona

It was soon learned that farther up the river there was a much larger Indian settlement, and to this it was decided to advance. Jealous of their neighbours, Donnacona and his tribesmen tried in every way to turn the Frenchmen from their purpose, warning them that "there was so much snow and ice that all would die." But Cartier was determined to continue his journey, and, leaving behind his two largest vessels, pushed on with the smallest and two open boats. Early in October he drew near the object of his search, the town



CARTIER DISCOVERS THE ST. LAWRENCE.

of Hochelaga, situated, at the base of a picturesque mountain, upon the site of the city of Montreal. The place was strongly fortified with a triple row of tree trunks, the outer and inner crossing at the top. Within were as many as fifty

Hochelaga

oblong dwellings about fifty yards in length and fifteen in width, each accommodating several families. In the heart of the town there was a public square. Here the strangers were beset by a throng of children and women, who touched their beards, felt their faces, and gazed in wonder upon their strange dress and weapons. They brought to the French leader all their sick and maimed, "as if," he says, "a god had come down to cure them."

Before leaving, Cartier climbed the mountain, which he called *Mont Royal*, and from its lofty summit viewed the surrounding country. The party then returned to Stadacona.

It was fortunate that the few Frenchmen left behind with the larger ships had, during the absence of their comrades, built a palisade fort, for the winter was soon upon them in all its severity. This first winter spent by Europeans in the new land proved one of great hardships. Added to the suffering from cold and hunger, and to the danger of Indian treachery, were the ravages of scurvy which broke out in the hapless camp. Before spring twenty-five men died, and only three or four remained in sound health. Fearing that the Indians might take advantage of their weakness and attack the camp, Cartier, whenever the former were in sight, made his men beat upon the walls with sticks and stones to give the impression that they were hard at work. Fortunately, on towards spring, the discovery of a medicine made from an evergreen, probably the spruce fir, gave the wretched sufferers relief from the dread disease. Such quantities of the remedy did they drink that in the course of six days they had boiled down a tree as large as a French oak. No sooner had the ice relaxed its hold upon his ships than Cartier prepared to return to France. As upon his first voyage, so now he treacherously seized and carried back with him a number of natives, "to relate to the king the wonders of these western countries." This time the victims were persons of note, Donnacona himself and several of his chiefs.

A trying winter at Stadacona

27. The Third Voyage, 1541–1542. — It was not until May, 1541, that the great explorer again sought the shores of the St. Lawrence. The king had granted a commission to one of his noblemen, Sieur de Roberval, under whom Cartier was to act as captain-general. Roberval's object was not only to discover new lands, but also to found a settlement, and to convert the natives. Impatient of the delay caused by the difficulty of obtaining supplies for the fleet, Cartier set sail alone, and at the close of a stormy voyage dropped anchor off Stadacona. To the Indians' inquiries for their kidnapped chiefs, who had all died in France, Cartier admitted that Donnacona was dead, but falsely reported that the others had married and settled down in France. The Indians were by no means satisfied, and from this time became still more unfriendly to their treacherous visitors. Proceeding about ten miles further up the river, the Frenchmen began to make preparations for a permanent settlement. Trees were cleared away, forts built, and some seeding was done.

Disappointed at the delay of the fleet, Cartier, in the spring of 1542, abandoned the new colony, known as Charlesbourg Royal. Off the coast of Newfoundland he fell in with Roberval, who had just arrived with three ships and two hundred colonists. In defiance of an order to turn back, the captain-general escaped in the night and sailed for the coast of France, leaving his chief to continue alone the voyage to Charlesbourg Royal. Here a huge, castle-like structure was now erected, containing great halls, kitchens, chambers, and workshops, spacious enough to

Roberval at Charlesbourg Royal

house the whole colony. Provisions, however, soon ran short, and disease made inroads into the ranks of the unfortunate colonists, with the result that in the summer of the following year the ill-starred colony was again abandoned.

The fate of Roberval is shrouded in mystery. One writer would have us believe that he sailed up the Saguenay in quest of a "kingdom of jewels," and that he never again emerged from the lofty portals of that gloomy stream. From a more trustworthy source we learn that this unfortunate coloniser met death by violence one night in the heart of Paris. Fortune dealt more kindly with Cartier, who passed the closing years of an eventful life amid the quiet of his old manor-house near St. Malo.

28. English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century. — With these failures in colonisation active interest in the interior of Canada practically ceased during the sixteenth century. Among Englishmen, however, it was the day of great seamen, who continued to haunt the coasts of the western continent. The north-west passage was still the object of search. To find this Martin Frobisher made three voyages, and John Davis as many more, but all to no purpose, and only their names upon the charts of the Arctic regions recall to memory their gallant efforts to solve the mystery of the frozen north.

Frobisher and Davis

Towards the close of the century Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and made the first attempt to plant an English colony in the New World.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1583

From the outset misfortune followed the enterprise. One ship was forced by the outbreak of disease among its crew to put back into the English harbour, while a second was wrecked off the rocky coast of Newfoundland. Finally, threatened by famine, the colony was removed. Upon the homeward voyage Sir Humphrey, who sailed on board the *Squirrel*, a small craft of ten tons burden, went down in a storm. His last words — "Courage, my lads! Heaven is as near by sea as by land" — have come down to us as those of a man who knew how to die gallantly.

CHAPTER III

CHAMPLAIN

SECTION 1. 1603–1613

THE ACADIAN SETTLEMENT

29. The French neglect Canada. — For half a century after the voyages of Cartier, France, being fully occupied with civil wars, took little interest in the new land to which she had laid claim. Yet the fishing banks of Newfoundland were frequented by French seamen, as well as by those of Spain, Portugal, and England. For a time as many as two vessels a day sailed from French ports for the scene of the fisheries, and upon one occasion there were fully one hundred and fifty French ships off the Banks. The story is told of one old fisherman that he visited Newfoundland forty-two times in as many years. Gradually these men of the sea were attracted to the land by the profits of the fur trade. Soon rude huts appeared dotting the island of Anticosti and the mainland, where these enterprising seamen carried on with the natives a trade in bear and beaver skins. In exchange they gave knives, hatchets, cloth, brandy, beads, and trinkets of various kinds.

The Banks of Newfoundland

30. Failures in Colonisation. — Not long were these private traders to have this rich field to themselves.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Marquis de la Roche approached the French king with an offer to colonise New France in return for a monopoly of the fur trade. This undertaking ended in complete failure. A like fate befell a colony which Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, planted at the mouth of the Saguenay. Henceforth the fur trade of Canada was controlled by companies, to each of which in turn the king granted a monopoly.

De la Roche

Pontgravé

31. Samuel de Champlain. — In 1603 the work of exploration so ably begun by Cartier was taken up by a man whose services to the country have won for him the proud title of "Father of New France." Samuel de Champlain, although only thirty-six years of age, had already acquired considerable experience in war and travel. We are told that his "purse was small, his merit great," a fact readily reconciled with the spirit of adventure which drew him to the newly found continent. Already he had spent two years of adventure in the West Indies, a fitting preparation for the hardships and perils of his life in Canada. Shrewd and earnest, he was yet possessed of a strong spirit of romance, which may account for many erratic schemes into which he entered.

It was in company with Pontgravé that Champlain first visited Canada. A great change had come over the shores of the St. Lawrence. Where in Cartier's day bands of Indians had peopled Stadacona and Hochelaga, all was solitude; only a few wandering Algonquins were to be found. Prevented

First visit to Canada, 1603

by rapids from proceeding further up the river, the disappointed explorers were forced to turn back.

In 1604 Sieur de Monts, a gentleman of influence at the French court, obtained leave from the king to colonise Acadia, a country which included the present provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick together with part of the state of Maine. A monopoly of the fur trade was of course granted by the crown, but it was clearly stated that the task of Christianising the natives should be undertaken. It was a motley company that crowded the decks of the two ships set apart for the expedition; thieves and ruffians forced on board mingling with volunteers of good station in life, and in command Sieur de Monts, Baron de Poutrincourt, and Champlain.

De Monts

A Typical French Gentleman of the Time of De Monts.

A westerly course brought the colonists to land on the southern coast of Acadia, from which point they rounded Cape Sable and entered the Bay of Fundy. Their first discovery was a fine large harbour, "a com-

modious and pleasant place," according to Champlain, who called it Port Royal. So delighted was Pontgravé that he asked De Monts for a grant of the surrounding country. After sailing around the head of the Bay of

CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF PORT ROYAL, 1605.

A, Workmen's Dwelling; *B*, Platform for Cannon; *C*, Storehouse; *D*, Residence for Champlain and Pontgravé; *E*, Blacksmith's Forge; *F*, Palisade; *G*, Bakehouse; *H*, Kitchen; *I*, Garden; *K*, Burying-ground; *L*, St. Lawrence River; *M*, Moat; *N*, Dwelling of De Monts; *O*, Ships' Storehouse.

Fundy and along its north-west shore, the adventurers fixed upon an island off the mouth of the St. Croix River as the site of the new colony. Sailors, soldiers, and artisans were quickly at work, and before winter one end of the island was covered with buildings. During the winter, cold, hunger, and scurvy carried off thirty-five men. It was resolved to abandon St. Croix for the more favourable location at Port Royal.

At St. Croix

In their new settlement the colonists were joined by one Marc L'Escarbot, a Parisian lawyer, who having lost a lawsuit was anxious "to fly from a corrupt world," and was quite in the mood for adventure. To this man, who was both poet and historian, we are indebted for one of the best pictures we have of early settlement in America. During the following winter the colonists, comfortably housed in a quadrangle of wooden buildings, passed the months of confinement with no little enjoyment. Ample supplies had been provided by De Monts, each man even having his three pints of wine daily. The fifteen leading men of the colony, who sat at Poutrincourt's table, organised "The Order of the Good Time." Each in turn was grand master, holding office for one day, on which it was his duty to provide for the company's entertainment. For a week before he might be found fishing, hunting, or bartering with the Indians. Moose, beaver, otter, hare, duck, geese, plover, sturgeon, and trout were common diet. The Indian chiefs were the invited guests, while humbler warriors, squaws, and children sat about the floor awaiting their share of the good things of the feast. Thus did these merry Frenchmen pass a pleasant winter, and look to the springtime with bright hopes for the future of their colony. Unfortunately their hopes were short lived, for suddenly one morning a vessel arrived from France with the news that De Monts had lost his monopoly. Port Royal had to be abandoned, and sadly Poutrincourt and Champlain prepared for the homeward voyage. The grief of the natives at the

At Port Royal

"The Order of the Good Time"

Port Royal abandoned

prospect of losing their hospitable hosts was great indeed.

32. Poutrincourt revives the Acadian Colony. — In 1610 Poutrincourt, urging his claim to Port Royal on the strength of De Monts's grant, was allowed by the king to revive the Acadian settlement. The Christianising of the Indians, a task which had been neglected by De Monts, was now actively undertaken. One of the chiefs, Membertou, who, it was said, had served the devil for one hundred and ten years, confessed his sins, and in baptism was named Henri after the French king. Twenty other members of the same tribe became converts. In connection with this missionary work there appeared for the first time in New France representatives of a remarkable order of priests, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. Wherever a new country was being opened up and pioneer settlements were being formed, these energetic priests were to be found.

The Jesuits

33. The English destroy Port Royal, 1613. — Scarcely had the colony at Port Royal begun to revive, when its existence was threatened by the hostility of a younger rival far to the south. In 1607 an English settlement had been founded upon the banks of the James River in Virginia. Six years later, Samuel Argall of Jamestown, while cruising about the Bay of Fundy with three small vessels, came suddenly upon the French colony. The commander and most of his men happened to be absent on a visit to the neighbouring Indians, while the remaining colonists were at work in the fields some distance away. Argall's men, after

Jamestown

destroying all the animals and plundering the buildings, set fire to the place. This disaster proved a death-blow to Poutrincourt's hopes, and it was many years before French colonisation revived in Acadia. In the attack of the men of Jamestown upon Port Royal there was begun a strife between the English and French colonists which was to continue, with interruptions it is true, for a century and a half, and to close in a death-struggle upon the Plains of Abraham.

Section 2. 1608–1610

Champlain's Indian Wars

34. Champlain on the St. Lawrence. — Meanwhile Champlain, who had returned to Paris, was dreaming of the New World and its hidden mysteries. He had penetrated as far as Hochelaga, and was now convinced that somewhere upon the banks of the St. Lawrence was the ideal site of a settlement, from which the unknown interior might be explored and perhaps a route to China found. By the many

Samuel de Champlain.

streams, too, pouring their waters into the St. Lawrence, the fur-laden canoes of distant Indian tribes might make their way to the new capital. But to Champlain, in whose eyes "the saving of a soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire," another thought was dear, namely, the winning of the wild, untamed natives from their state of cruel savagery.

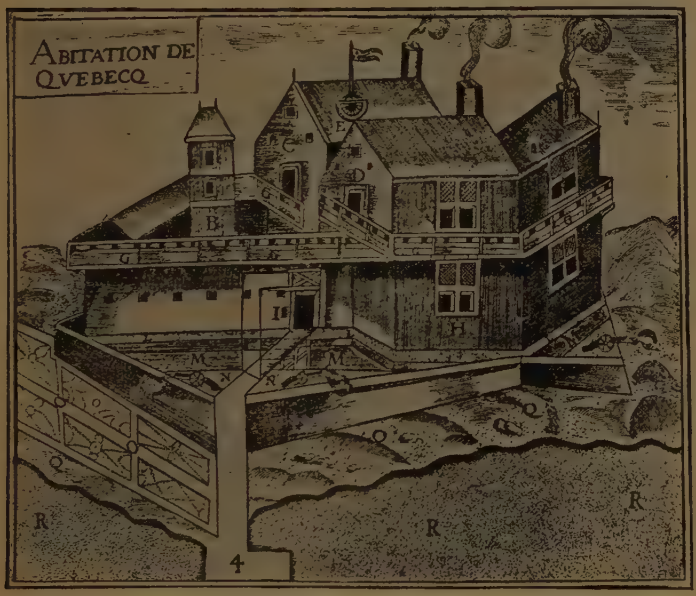
Such were the thoughts of Champlain as, in 1608, he a second time entered the wide mouth of the St. Lawrence. His friend De Monts, in spite of the failure of the Acadian venture, had again secured a monopoly of trade. At Tadousac, Pontgravé, the practical merchant of the company, was left to prosecute the fur trade. Champlain pressed on to the site of Stadacona, where between the river and the overhanging cliffs he purposed to establish his headquarters. Without delay axemen were set to work, and a few weeks saw the completion of several buildings, surrounded by a strong wooden wall with a platform for cannon, and the whole encircled by a moat. Such was the birth of the now historic city of Quebec. We know little of how the first winter was passed, but that it brought trying experiences may be judged from the fact that of twenty-eight men only eight survived the fatal scurvy.

The founding of Quebec, 1608

35. Indian Wars. — The arrival in the spring of fresh supplies from France encouraged Champlain to continue his explorations, which, he hoped, would find their goal in the long-sought China. An obstacle, however, stood in his way, the hostility of the fierce Iroquois, whose position gave them

Champlain joins the Hurons and Algonquins

control of the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence and of the lake beyond. At this juncture there came the offer of an alliance with the Hurons and Algonquins against their deadly enemies, the Five Nations, an offer which



CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF QUEBEC IN 1608.

A, Storehouse; *B*, Dovecote; *C*, Workmen's Lodgings and Armoury; *D*, Lodgings for Mechanics; *E*, Dial; *F*, Blacksmith's Shop and Workmen's Lodgings; *G*, Galleries; *H*, Champlain's Residence; *I*, Gate and Drawbridge; *L*, Walk; *M*, Moat; *N*, Platform for Cannon; *O*, Garden; *P*, Kitchen; *Q*, Vacant Space; *R*, St. Lawrence River.

Champlain decided to accept. This action has been strongly condemned, on the ground that it later drew down upon the French Canadians the vengeance of the Iroquois. It is difficult, however, to see how the exploration of the West could have been accomplished without an alliance with one or other of the Indian tribes.

In June, Champlain and a few of his followers ascended the St. Lawrence to join their newly made allies. Many of the latter had never before seen white men, and gazed in amazement upon the steel armour and death-breathing firearms of the wonderful strangers. Arrived at the mouth of the Iroquois, as the Richelieu River was then called, they turned into the tributary stream. The sixty warriors of the party, manning twenty-four canoes, proceeded in orderly array. A few went in advance of the main body to keep watch for the enemy, while others on the flanks and in the rear hunted for game to support the little army. At night they drew up their canoes close together upon the shore, and cutting down trees built a rude semicircular palisade to protect the camp upon the land side. The allies had entered the lake which has preserved in its name the memory of its discovery by Champlain, and had advanced to the headland later occupied by Fort Ticonderoga, when suddenly one night about ten o'clock they caught sight of a fleet of Iroquois canoes gliding in their direction. By mutual consent the battle was postponed until the following morning, when both parties, having landed, prepared for the struggle.

Lake Champlain

The fight, as described by Champlain himself, was a strange one. "I looked at them," he says, "and they looked at me. When I saw them getting ready to shoot their arrows at us, I levelled my arquebuse, which I had loaded with four balls, and aimed straight at one of their chiefs. The shot brought down two and wounded another. On this, our Indians set up such a yelling that one could not have

The fight with the Iroquois, 1609

heard a thunder clap, and all the while arrows flew thick on both sides. The Iroquois were greatly astonished and frightened to see two of their men killed so quickly, in spite of their arrow-proof armour. As I was reloading, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which so increased their astonishment that, seeing their chiefs dead, they abandoned the field and fled into the depth of the forest." The battle won, the allies dashed after the retreating enemy, killing many but reserving more for a worse fate. Satisfied at length, and fearing that the Iroquois though beaten might turn upon them, the victors withdrew to the St. Lawrence. Here the Hurons and Algonquins parted from Champlain, but before setting out they invited him to visit their country, an invitation of which the explorer later took advantage.

In the following year Champlain again joined the Hurons and Algonquins, this time in an attack upon a hundred Iroquois who had taken refuge in a rude fort near the mouth of the Richelieu. Again the dreaded firearms won the day for the Frenchmen and their allies. After the fight the Hurons were eager to have Champlain return home with them, but he refused, probably owing to a rumour that De Monts had been deprived of his monopoly. The rumour proved well founded, and the announcement of the change was a signal for a rush of rival traders to the St. Lawrence. This misfortune made it necessary for Champlain to return to France to seek a renewal of trading privileges.

A second fight with the Iroquois, 1610

Section 3. 1610–1616

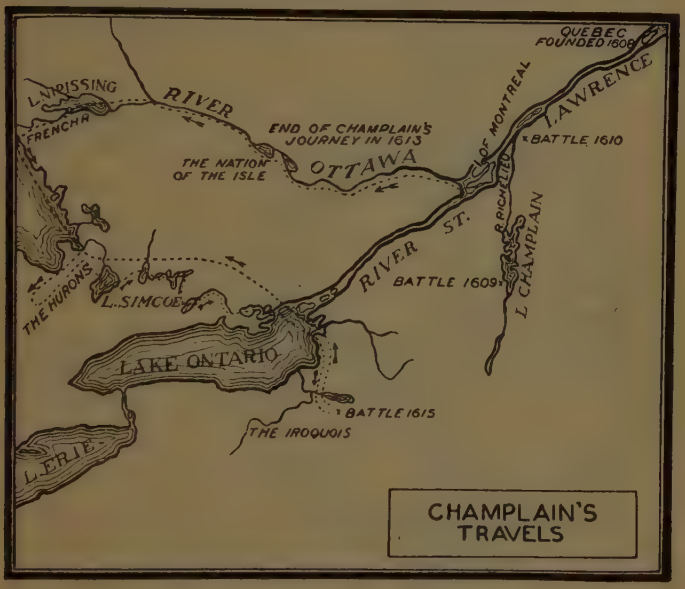
Champlain's Explorations

36. Champlain ascends the Ottawa, 1613. — While in Paris, Champlain was visited by a young man named Nicolas de Vignau, who had the year before gone up the Ottawa with a band of Algonquins returning from a trading-trip. Vignau told a wonderful story of how he had discovered at the head waters of the Ottawa a lake, how he had crossed this and descended another river to the sea, and how there he had seen the wreck of an English ship lying upon the shore. So convincing was this tale that Champlain, early in the spring of 1613, returned to Canada, chose four Frenchmen, one of them Vignau, and two Indians, and with an equipment of two canoes pushed his way up the Ottawa. The difficulties and dangers of the route were very great. At the Long Sault, Champlain in towing a canoe slipped and fell into the rapids and narrowly escaped drowning. At the Chaudière, the two Indians of the party observed their invariable custom of throwing a gift of tobacco into the water, at the same time invoking the spirit or *Manitou* of the cataract. The nature of the journey we learn from Champlain's account of one day's travel. "We had a hard march," he says. "I carried for my share of the luggage three arquebuses, three paddles, my overcoat, and a few bagatelles. My men carried a little more than I did, and suffered more from the mosquitoes than from their loads. After we had passed

Vignau's story

The journey

four small ponds and advanced two leagues and a half, we were so tired that we could go no farther, having eaten nothing but a little roasted fish for nearly twenty-four hours. So we stopped in a pleasant place enough by the edge of a pond, and lighted a fire to drive off the



mosquitoes, which plagued us beyond description; and at the same time we set our nets to catch some fish."

Finally the adventurers reached the point where the Ottawa dividing encircles the Ile des Allumettes, the home of the largest Indian tribe on the river. Brought into the presence of the local chief, Tessouat, Champlain asked for men and canoes to carry his party forward to the country of the Nipissings, which Vignau claimed to have visited. Tes-

Vignau proves an impostor

souat thereupon informed his visitor that Vignau had never been beyond the Ile des Allumettes, and had lied to the Frenchmen. Bitterly disappointed, Champlain gave up his enterprise and returned to the St. Lawrence and thence to France. Vignau, "the most imprudent liar that has been seen for many a day," was, in spite of the Indians' desire to put him to death, allowed to go unpunished.

ASTROLABE FOUND IN 1867.

Supposed to have been lost by Champlain in his trip up the Ottawa in 1613.

37. The Récollet Friars. — Champlain's dearest object, as has been said, was to Christianise the Indians, living "like brute beasts, without faith, without law, without religion, without God." In 1615, therefore, he brought out with him to Canada three friars of the Récollet order, Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau, and Joseph le Caron, and the lay brother, Pacifique du Plessis. "They packed their church ornaments," says Champlain, "and we our baggage." Their dress con-

sisted of a long robe of coarse gray cloth, encircled at the waist by a knotted cord, and having a hood to be drawn over the head of the wearer. Their sandals were of wood an inch in thickness, into which their naked feet were thrust. The newcomers lost no time in setting to work. While Jamay and Du Plessis remained at Quebec, Dolbeau set out for Tadousac, from which point he was instructed to follow the wandering Montagnais to their northern hunting-ground. So wide were these wanderings that they brought the devoted priest into contact with the Eskimos of the far north.

Dolbeau

Meanwhile Le Caron, attended by twelve armed Frenchmen, had departed with a band of Huron warriors for the latter's distant home. The route was by the Ottawa River. Fortunately Le Caron has left us an account of his journey. "It would be hard to tell you," he writes to a friend, "how tired I was with paddling all day, with all my strength, among the Indians; wading the rivers a hundred times and more, through the mud and over the sharp rocks that cut my feet; carrying the canoe and luggage through the woods to avoid the rapids and frightful cataracts; and half starved all the while, for we had nothing to eat but a little *sagamite*, a sort of porridge of water and pounded maize, of which they gave us a very small allowance every morning and night."

Le Caron visits the Hurons

38. Champlain with the Hurons, 1615–1616. — Close behind Le Caron came Champlain with a party including ten Indians, an interpreter, and one other French-

man. Passing the limit of his first journey, he followed the Ottawa to the mouth of the Mattawan, which he ascended about forty miles. From the head waters of this stream Lake Nipissing was reached by a *portage*

FORT DES IROQUOIS.

Champlain's sketch of an Onondaga fort. To the right is a movable tower which Champlain showed the Hurons how to build.

well beaten by the feet of passing Indians. After spending two days with the Nipissings, the party continued westwards to the outlet of the lake, and descended French River to Georgian Bay. A few days' paddling brought the now weary travellers to the southern shore of the bay, where they landed a little west of the site of the present town of Penetanguishene. It was but a

short tramp inland to the chief town of the Hurons, where Champlain had the great joy of meeting Le Caron. This hardy priest now had the honour of saying the first mass in the Huron land, raising the Host above the kneeling forms of his devout countrymen and the awe-stricken natives.

Champlain had scarcely begun to visit the Huron towns when he was asked to join in a raid upon the Iroquois. By a chain of lakes and rivers the war party reached Lake Ontario, which was crossed not far from its eastern end. Striking boldly inland to the south of the lake, the invaders soon found themselves in the very heart of the enemy's country, and once more storming a strong Iroquois fortification. Champlain taught his followers how to construct a movable wooden tower, from the top of which they could shoot over the wall of the fort. He also showed them how to protect themselves with shields of wickerwork and skins. Failing to follow these instructions, the besiegers exposed themselves rashly and were again and again repulsed. Finally, losing faith in their great French captain, "the man with the iron breast," as they called him, they beat a cowardly retreat, which became a panic-stricken flight before the pursuit of the victorious enemy. Champlain, who had been wounded in the knee, was borne upon the shoulders of the strongest warriors, "bundled in a heap, doubled and strapped together like an infant in swaddling clothes." He had been promised an escort to Quebec, but was now carried back to the shores of Lake Simcoe, where he was forced to pass the winter. In the spring he at last

He joins the Hurons in an attack upon an Iroquois town

returned to Quebec, where his friends, who had received from Indians a report of his death, welcomed him as one returned from the dead.

Section 4. 1617–1635

THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

39. The Fur Trade retards Growth of Colonies. — Exploration and Indian warfare were now of the past in Champlain's experience. Hereafter he was to devote himself to the task of building up the weak colony which he had founded some nine years before. Montreal, Three Rivers, and Tadousac were but trading-stations, occupied during part of the year only, while Quebec, still the chief centre of population, boasted no more than fifty or sixty inhabitants. Nor was there any good hope of an increase of population. The fur traders, although as a company pledged to promote settlement, did all they could to retard it. It was to the interest of the fur trade that the population should continue small, and the land uncultivated. Few, consequently, of the men employed by the Company brought out their wives. Against this state of affairs Champlain protested, trying to influence the Company to promote the growth of the declining colony. He

CHAMPLAIN'S COAT OF ARMS AND AUTOGRAPH.

proved his sincerity by bringing out his own wife. Madame Champlain threw herself zealously into the life of the rude settlement, spending her spare moments in teaching the squaws and their children. Five years, however, were enough to cool this refined lady's ardour for colonial life, for at the end of that period we find her again in Paris.

Madame Champlain

40. The Hundred Associates. — In 1627 the famous French statesman, Richelieu, in devoting his attention to the commercial development of his country, became aware of the wretched state of New France. Under his direction all existing trading privileges were withdrawn, and a new organisation was formed, consisting of the Hundred Associates, sometimes called the Company of New France. A perpetual monopoly of the fur trade was granted, together with control of all other commerce for a period of fifteen years. The New France to which this monopoly applied included Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, and even Florida. The Company, on its part, was bound to bring out two or three hundred settlers at once, and within the next fifteen years to raise the number to four thousand. These they were to lodge and support for three years, and at the end of that term to give them cleared land.

41. Kirke takes Quebec, 1629. — Early in the spring of 1628 the Company sent out four vessels bearing colonists and supplies. About the same time there sailed from an English port a fleet of three ships commanded by David Kirke. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Quebec, being short of provisions, were anxiously looking for aid from France. At length word was brought that

a strange fleet was anchored off Tadousac, and later that the ships of the Hundred Associates were advancing up the St. Lawrence. Champlain, who as lieutenant-governor was in command at Quebec, knowing that an encounter of the two fleets was inevitable, waited anxiously for the appearance of friends or foes; but neither came. Some time later the Indians brought him news of what had happened. Kirke had met and overpowered the provision ships, and then, fearing to attack Quebec, had sailed away. Kirke in the following year again entered the St. Lawrence, and from the Saguenay sent on three ships commanded by his two brothers to capture the French stronghold. Champlain, whose garrison had been reduced to a starved and ragged band of sixteen, was forced to surrender.

42. The Last Days of Champlain. — Not long did England hold Canada, for by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye Charles I, who happened to need money and was at war with his parliament, restored the country to France for the paltry sum of $240,000. In the following year the Company of the Hundred Associates again entered into its possessions, having Champlain at its head. The latter for two years continued to direct affairs at Quebec, faithfully fulfilling his duties both to the Company and to the crown. But his end was near at hand.

Quebec restored to France, 1632

On Christmas Day, 1635, death robbed Quebec of its founder. The deeds of this distinguished Frenchman, in war, in exploration, and in colonisation, have won for him an honourable place in the memory of Canadians. A romantic spirit of adventure, coupled with a fervent

zeal for the saving of souls, made light of treacherous rapids, the lurking dangers of pathless forests, and the haunting terrors of Iroquois vengeance. History has no greater tribute to pay to the memory of Champlain than to record that he founded the oldest city of Canada, and that he fostered its infant life during the years when the greed of the fur traders threatened every effort at colonisation. Such unselfish devotion to the best interests of his country gives point to the title, "Father of New France."

Death of Champlain, 1635

CHAPTER IV

1613–1667

AN ACADIAN FEUD

43. The La Tours, Father and Son. — After the destruction of Port Royal by Argall, Poutrincourt returned to France. His son Biencourt and a few of his companions, among whom was Charles de la Tour, refused to leave the country. La Tour was the son of a Huguenot, Claude de la Tour, a French nobleman whom poverty had forced to seek his fortune in the New World. The father built a trading-post at the mouth of the Penobscot; the son, remaining with Biencourt, settled at Fort Louis near Cape Sable. When Biencourt died, he left all his rights in Acadia to Charles de la Tour, who had been his personal friend from boyhood. The elder La Tour, less fortunate than his son, was a few years later driven out from the Penobscot by New England traders. He then returned to France to gain the support of the French king.

44. The "Baronets" of Nova Scotia. — About this time the attention of some prominent men in England was drawn to Acadia. One of these, Sir William Alexander, conceived the idea of planting a colony there. From the king he secured a grant of Acadia, which he renamed Nova Scotia. An order of Nova Scotian "baronets" was created, who were to undertake the

settlement each of his "barony." Little came of Sir William's elaborate plan.

45. Claude de la Tour at the English Court. — Meanwhile the elder La Tour had reached France. Just at the time of his arrival, aid was being sent to his son, whom the king had chosen to be his lieutenant in Acadia. La Tour sailed with the fleet for Acadia, but unfortunately his ship was captured by Kirke, and he himself carried to London. Here he soon gained favour, married one of the queen's maids of honour, and allowed himself to be persuaded by Alexander to swear allegiance to the English king. He and his son were made "baronets" of Nova Scotia, and received large grants of land. Claude de la Tour returned to Acadia, where he undertook to win over his son to the side of the English. The latter, however, proved loyal, and in the end induced his father to renew his allegiance to France. Charles's loyalty was soon afterwards rewarded, the king making him lieutenant-governor over a great part of Acadia.

46. The D'Aunay-La Tour Feud. — The treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye restored Acadia to the French, and thereafter the latter took an increased interest in their colony. Isaac de Launoy de Razilly, a distinguished military man, was sent out as governor of all Acadia; and with him as deputy came Charles de Menou, D'Aunay Charnisay. From the very outset D'Aunay and Charles de la Tour were rivals, and their rivalry became all the keener after the death of Razilly. D'Aunay, succeeding to his late chief's power, removed the seat of government from La Hève, where Razilly had estab-

lished it, to Port Royal. His rival had also moved from Cape Sable to the mouth of the St. John River. Here the latter had erected a strong fort, from which he carried on a profitable trade with the neighbouring Indian tribes. La Tour felt annoyed that, after his long and faithful service to the king, he was placed in a subordinate position. His more fortunate rival had great influence at the French court, and of this did not fail to avail himself.

In 1640 La Tour made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Port Royal. The king, hearing of this, withdrew the offender's commission, and instructed D'Aunay to seize his property and person. La Tour, his wife, and a few faithful followers prepared to defend themselves in the fort on the St. John. D'Aunay was making preparations for a siege when the arrival of four vessels, sent by some Massachusetts merchants who were in sympathy with La Tour, forced him to withdraw. Madame de la Tour, a woman of great courage and resource, now visited Paris and London in the hope of securing aid for her husband. Disappointed in her mission, she was returning home, when she had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of her sworn enemy. The ship in which she sailed was in fact seized and searched by D'Aunay, but the object of the latter's quest was safely hidden in the hold.

Madame de la Tour

D'Aunay soon made another attack upon his enemy's stronghold, this time taking advantage of the master's absence. If he looked for an easy victory, he was doomed to be disappointed, for the garrison, nerved

by the courage of Madame de la Tour, offered a most determined resistance. At one time the besiegers were all but discouraged, when they received from a traitor within the fort information which roused them to a renewal of the attack. Finally D'Au-

The courage of Madame de la Tour

La Tour seeking Aid from the Governor of Massachusetts.

nay offered favourable terms of surrender, which Madame de la Tour, rather than sacrifice any more of her brave men, decided to accept. No sooner were the gates thrown open than D'Aunay, in violation of his pledge, hanged all but one man, whom he spared on the condition that he act as execu-

D'Aunay's treachery

tioner of his comrades. Madame de la Tour was forced to stand with a rope about her neck and witness the execution. She did not long survive the tragedy, but died a few weeks later, a prisoner at Port Royal.

La Tour, robbed at one blow of wife and estate, left the country, and was for several years a wanderer. D'Aunay was left absolute ruler of Acadia. A few years later he was accidentally drowned in a river near Port Royal. When the news of his death reached La Tour, the latter immediately proceeded to France. The king, acknowledging that he had been unfairly treated, made him governor of Acadia. Upon his arrival at Port Royal he married, strange to say, the widow of the man who had persecuted him so bitterly, "to secure the peace and tranquillity of the country, and concord and union between the two families."

Marriage ends the feud

47. Acadia changes Hands Twice. — Acadia was not long to enjoy peace. In 1654 an English fleet, which was lying idle in Boston harbour, was pressed by some New Englanders into an expedition against Port Royal. Without a struggle the whole country passed into the possession of England, and even the staunch La Tour placed himself under English protection, becoming Sir Charles de la Tour. This Acadian hero spent the remainder of his life in the land of his choice, and died only a year before the treaty of Breda was concluded, in 1667, restoring Acadia to France.

The treaty of Breda, 1667

CHAPTER V

1635–1645

THE FOUNDING OF MONTREAL

48. The Associates fail to settle the Country. — Champlain was succeeded in the governorship of Canada by Charles Huault de Montmagny, with whom came several families to swell the population of the young colony. The reinforcement was sorely needed, as even some years later Quebec did not contain more than two hundred people. Most of these were servants of the Company, priests, or nuns, very few being actual settlers. The surrounding country was still a wilderness, as no real attempt at farming had yet been made. The Associates, more interested in the fur trade than in settlement, had failed to carry out the terms of their contract. Instead of directly providing a population, they granted large tracts of land to private persons on condition that they would furnish settlers to clear and till the soil. Some of these grants were very unfair, one man receiving a frontage upon the St. Lawrence of sixty leagues, for which he failed to secure a single occupant. As a matter of fact there was nothing to induce the settler to come out to Canada. He could trade with the Indians only on condition that he sold his furs to the Company at its own price. He was not

Settlers hampered

allowed to fish. For several years, until he succeeded in cultivating the soil for himself, he was dependent upon the Company even for his food.

49. The Jesuits. — Apart from the fur trade the life of the colony centred in missions, convents, schools, and hospitals. The Récollets, the first religious order upon the scene, were now gone, but the work well begun by

FRENCH PRIEST ADDRESSING A BAND OF MOHAWK INDIANS.

them was taken up by the Jesuits, in whose hands it in no way declined. Not satisfied with attending to the spiritual needs of the colonists, the Jesuits founded at Quebec a seminary for Huron boys. At first the plan was not a success. One boy ran away, two ate themselves to death, and a fourth was carried off by his father. Later, however, the school was firmly established. So great was the interest aroused in France by the Jesuit accounts of the missionary work, that there was no lack of volunteers, especially among the nuns,

"If all had their pious will," writes one Jesuit, "Quebec would soon be flooded with nuns."

50. The Founding of Montreal. — One nobleman, Le Royer de la Dauversière, had a vision wherein he felt himself called to found a new order of nurses, and to build a hospital on the island of Montreal. The man chosen to carry out this charitable object, Sieur de Maisonneuve, was at once a brave soldier and a devoted servant of the church. Governor Montmagny, fearing that the proposed settlement would prove a dangerous rival to Quebec, attempted to dissuade its promoters from their purpose by representing the danger of Indian attacks. But the fearless answer of Maisonneuve was characteristic of the man himself. "I have not come here," he said, "to deliberate, but to act. It is my duty and my honour to found a colony at Montreal; and I would go, if every tree were an Iroquois."

Sieur de Maisonneuve

PAUL DE CHOMEDY, SIEUR DE MAISONNEUVE.

It was in May of 1642 that this chivalrous gentleman, accompanied by two pious women, Madame de la Peltrie and Mademoiselle Mance, ascended the St. Lawrence and landed upon the shore of that already historic island which Cartier had discovered and which Champlain had fixed upon as a strategic trading point. Tents were pitched and camp-fires lighted, and amid this simple scene of pioneer life another great Canadian city had its beginning.

It was now thirty-two years since the founder of New France had joined in an attack upon the Iroquois. All these years the latter had nursed their enmity, and at last they were in a position to wreak vengeance upon the hated French and their Indian allies. From the Dutch traders, who made Albany their headquarters, they had secured firearms, like those which had so terrified them in the hands of Champlain and his followers. And now all classes in Canada — settlers, traders, and Indians — were made the objects of their murderous attacks. Early in the spring they would leave their villages, in small or large bands, and sweep down Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. Upon the St. Lawrence and Ottawa they intercepted the canoes of the Hurons on their way to or from the fur market at Quebec. The Algonquins beyond the St. Lawrence, even in the distant hunting-grounds of the north, were not safe from these tireless foes. The inhabitants of all the settlements were constantly on their guard. A new fort was built near the mouth of the Richelieu, for the purpose of checking the invasions of the Iroquois. These wily warriors,

The Iroquois terrorise the French and their allies

however, landed above the fort, and making a détour reached the St. Lawrence below, while the garrison remained wholly ignorant of their presence in the neighbourhood. The position of the unfortunate colonists was most distressing. "At Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, and the little fort on the Richelieu, that is to say in all Canada, no man could hunt, fish, till the fields, or cut a tree in the forest, without peril to his scalp. The Iroquois were everywhere and nowhere. A yell, a volley of bullets, a rush of screeching savages, and all was over. The soldiers hastened to the spot to find silence, solitude, and a mangled corpse."

Distress of the colonists

Montreal, which the French hoped to make the centre of an agricultural district, enjoyed a period of security as long as its existence was unknown to the Iroquois. Unfortunately the day soon came when the enemy discovered the new colony, being guided thereto by a small band of Algonquins, who were seeking a place of refuge. All feeling of security was at an end. The men went out to the fields in strong parties, fully armed, and worked with their firearms close at hand. Danger lurked on every hand. A single Iroquois warrior would lie hidden for days, in the hope of cutting off some careless straggler. Again, a band of a hundred Indians would lay an ambuscade for the whole body of workers.

Montreal in danger

Maisonneuve, discreet as he was brave, kept his garrison well within the defences of the settlement, knowing that the enemy were more than his match in bush-fighting. His men, eager to attack the foe, grumbled

at the restraint put upon them, and even began to question their commander's courage. At last, overcome by their eagerness, Maisonneuve consented to lead them in a sally. Thirty in number, they advanced boldly through the forest, only to be met with a sudden shower of bullets and arrows from a hidden enemy. Closely pressed by the Iroquois, who arose from the bushes in

THE FIRST MASS AT MONTREAL.

front and on both flanks, the over-valiant Frenchmen were forced to fall back. In the retreat Maisonneuve brought up the rear, encouraging his disheartened men, and keeping the pursuers in check. One chief, who pushed rashly forward to capture the French leader, the latter shot dead. In their anxiety to secure the body of their fallen chief, the Iroquois allowed the French time to effect a retreat within the fortifications. The last man to enter the gate

The gallantry of Maisonneuve

was the gallant Maisonneuve, who from that day was the hero of the little garrison at Montreal.

51. Changes in Government. — Meanwhile, important changes were taking place at Quebec. The Company of the Hundred Associates, which had made but small profit out of the fur trade, in 1645 surrendered its monopoly. Control of the fur trade now passed into the hands of a new organisation, *La Compagnie des Habitants*, of which any inhabitant could be a member. The Associates still retained their seigniorial rights and an annual claim upon one thousand pounds of beaver skins.

La Compagnie des Habitants

Two years later the first Canadian Council was formed, including the governor-general, the superior of the Jesuits, and the governor of Montreal. This body had absolute control of the making and enforcing of laws and of the administration of justice. For a time three of the leading inhabitants were also members of the Council, but this arrangement did not last long, as the French king was opposed to a government in which the people had any voice.

A Council formed

CHAPTER VI

THE JESUIT MISSIONS

SECTION I. 1633–1649

THE MISSION TO THE HURONS

52. Father Le Jeune among the Algonquins, 1633. — It was, as we have noticed, not only to care for the French colonists that the Jesuits came to New France, but also to accomplish the purpose which had always claimed Champlain's interest, namely, the conversion of the natives. Father Le Jeune was foremost in this missionary enterprise, and applied himself with determination to the mastery of the Algonquin dialect, a task which brought him many amusing experiences. After repeated failures in his study, he chanced upon a strange teacher in the person of an old Indian named Pierre, who had been taken to France and trained in the art of Christian living, but who, upon his return to Canada, had lapsed into the vices of his former life. Seated beside his wayward instructor, the persevering priest made some progress. "How thankful I am," he writes, "to those who gave me tobacco last year. At every difficulty I give my master a piece of it to make him more attentive." It was among the roving Algonquins that Le Jeune laboured, following them throughout their winter huntings and enduring untold sufferings from

cold, hunger, and the filthy surroundings of the Indian camps.

53. The Jesuits turn to the Hurons, 1634. — Le Jeune's experience among the Algonquins convinced the Jesuits that no satisfactory progress could be made in their work among the Indians until the latter settled down in some fixed abode. Furthermore, the Algonquins were few in number and not likely to play a prominent part in the history of Canada. It was to the country south of the Georgian Bay, therefore, that these energetic priests looked for a fruitful field of labour, thinking that if once the Hurons were converted, the faith would quickly spread among the kindred nations to the south and west. Le Caron, of the order of the Récollets, had shown the way, and now up the Ottawa with its dangerous rapids and rocky *portages* toiled the Jesuit fathers, Brébeuf, Daniel, and Lalemant, ready for any experience if only it was "to God's greater glory."

JEAN DE BRÉBEUF.

Brébeuf, Daniel, and Lalemant

No sooner was their journey completed than the Jesuits set to work upon their first mission house. "Without, the structure was strictly Indian; but within, the priests, with the aid of such tools as they had, made changes which were the astonishment of all the country. They divided their dwelling by transverse partitions into three apartments, each with its wooden door — a wondrous novelty in the eyes of their visitors. The first served as a hall, an anteroom, and a place for storage for corn, beans, and dried fish. The second, the largest of the three, was at once kitchen, workshop, dining-room, drawing-room, schoolroom, and bedchamber. The third was the chapel. Here they made their altar, and here were their images, pictures, and sacred vessels. Their fire was on the ground, in the middle of the second apartment, the smoke escaping by a hole in the roof. At the sides were placed two wide platforms, after the Huron fashion, four feet from the earthen floor. On these were chests in which they kept their clothing and vestments, and beneath them they slept, reclining upon sheets of bark, and covered with skins and the garments they wore by day." Such was the home of these hardy pioneers of Christianity.

A mission house

To comforts the Jesuits were strangers. They ate their meals seated upon logs about the fire over which their kettle was slung. Their ordinary food consisted of boiled Indian corn mixed with pieces of fish. In their eagerness to bring with them the ornaments and vestments used in the religious services, they found no room for the necessaries of life, not even for salt. Their time was divided with great regularity. At four

o'clock in the morning a bell roused them from their beds of bark. From four until eight they busied themselves with masses, reading, and breakfast. At eight the door was thrown open and the Indian visitors were admitted. These some of the priests continued to teach at intervals throughout the day, while others went forth to visit the remainder of their flock, baptising and instructing as they passed from

The day's work

house to house. About four or five o'clock the Indians were dismissed and the door was closed. The evening was spent in reading, writing, and conversation.

The plan finally adopted by the Jesuits was to make Ste. Marie their central station, and from this to send out missionaries to found smaller missions. Of these branch missions the most important were St. Louis, St. Ignace, and St. Joseph, the last in the southern part of the country. There were at one time in the Huron land eighteen priests, four lay brothers,

Ste. Marie

twenty-three men serving without pay, seven hired men, four boys, and eight soldiers. Of these, fifteen priests were scattered throughout the various missions. The Jesuits, in undertaking this great work, were called upon not only to endure great hardships, but also to face extreme dangers. The Hurons were still very superstitious, and, when trouble came upon them or danger threatened, their faith in the missionaries was shaken. "It is *la prière*" (the prayer), they said, "that kills us. Your books and your strings of beads have bewitched the country. Before you came we were happy and prosperous. You are magicians. Your charms kill our corn, and bring sickness and the Iroquois. Echon (Brébeuf) is a traitor among us, in league with our enemies." On more than one occasion the Jesuits were in danger of losing their lives at the hands of the wretched people whom they were trying to serve.

The Jesuits in danger

54. The Destruction of the Huron Nation. — Soon a new danger threatened priests and converts alike, the enmity of the Iroquois. The town of St. Joseph, about fifteen miles from Ste. Marie, lay on the south-eastern frontier of the Huron country. Formerly the head town, it still contained a population of two thousand, and, being most exposed to the enemy's attack, was strongly fortified. St. Joseph was the scene of Father Daniel's missionary work. One morning in July the town presented a picture of quiet and security, and in the church Father Daniel had just finished the mass, when suddenly there arose the terrifying cry, "The Iroquois!" The brave priest,

St. Joseph, 1648

refusing to flee, vainly tried to rally his terror-stricken people, but soon fell, overwhelmed by a shower of arrows. The savage victors stripped and hacked his body, bathing their faces in his blood that they might become brave. Setting fire to the town, the Iroquois disappeared as quickly as they had come, carrying away nearly seven hundred prisoners.

THE HURONS DEFENDING ST. LOUIS AGAINST THE ATTACK OF THE IROQUOIS.

In the following year the Iroquois again boldly entered the heart of the Huron country, taking and destroying St. Ignace and St. Louis. It was only the stubborn resistance of a handful of Hurons at St. Louis that dashed the courage of the enemy in the very hour of victory, and saved the central mission at Ste. Marie. In this raid two other devoted missionaries,

Brébeuf and Lalemant, perished, the former under the most fiendish torture. Fire, hot irons, boiling water, all failed to make the hero flinch. "His death," we are told, "was the astonishment of his murderers." In a throng they pressed forward to drink his blood, in the hope of winning bravery, while one chief tore out and devoured his heart.

The martyrdom of Brébeuf

This second blow was too much for the surviving Hurons. Stunned and hopeless, they thought of nothing but flight. Burning their towns, they scattered in every direction, some seeking safety with neighbouring nations to the south and west, others fleeing to the islands of Lake Huron. The greater number took refuge on Ile St. Joseph. The Huron nation had disappeared and with it the greatest hope of the Jesuits. The latter had hoped, after converting the Hurons, to use them as an instrument in winning all the Indians of Canada to the Roman Catholic Church and to France. It was the unrelenting hostility of the Iroquois which defeated this object. New France was indeed reaping the fruit of Champlain's Indian policy.

The Huron nation scattered

Section 2. 1653–1658

The Mission to the Onondagas

55. A Perilous Mission. — In 1653 the Iroquois, having their attention occupied by a war against the Eries, their western neighbours, made peace with the French. For a brief season the fur trade, which had declined

amid the dangers of war, revived, and with it the prosperity of the colony. The Onondagas, the central Iroquois nation, now asked the French to found a settlement in their country, and, lest a refusal to do so should lead to a renewal of war, the request was granted. In order to prepare the way for a settlement, a Jesuit mission was established among them.

At first the mission was a success, many children being baptised and women converted, but soon the priests had reason to doubt the good faith of their new neighbours. At last they were informed of a plot among the Onondagas to put them to death. Nothing daunted, the missionaries formed a plan for making their escape. Secretly, in the loft of the mission house, they prepared as many canoes and flat-boats as would carry their whole company. They then invited all the warriors to a mystic feast, in connection with which it was a point of honour with each guest to eat everything set before him. Sleep induced by this gluttony gave the Jesuits their opportunity. Stealing down to the shore, whither some of their number had already carried the boats, they embarked, and quickly put many miles between them and their treacherous guests. The surprise of the Onondagas, upon awakening, to find their intended victims gone, may well be imagined. Thus, in the land of the Onondagas, as among the Hurons, did disaster follow in the footsteps of the Jesuit missionary.

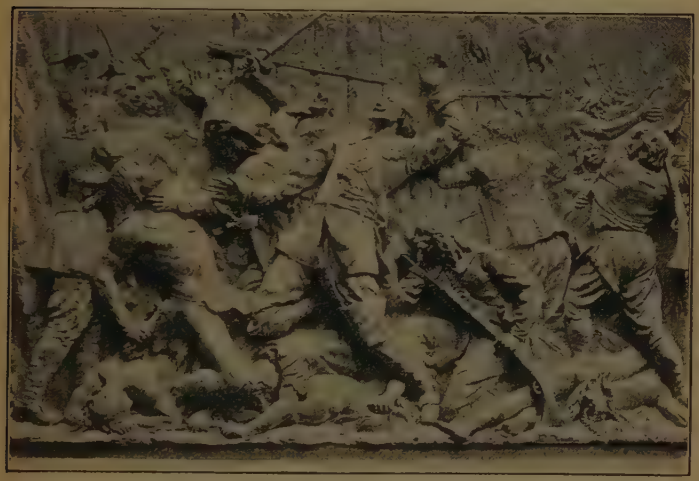
The escape of the missionaries

56. The Iroquois threaten the French Colonies. — The uncertain peace was at an end, and once more the horrors of Indian warfare were the lot of the French

and their allies. "Everywhere," writes the superior of the Jesuits, "we see infants to be saved for heaven, sick and dying to be baptised; adults to be instructed, but everywhere we see the Iroquois. They haunt us like persecuting goblins. They kill our new-made Christians in our arms. If they find us on the river, they kill us. If they find us in the huts of our Indians, they burn us and them together." One day the Algonquins captured an Iroquois, and brought him to Quebec to torture. Before he expired the victim made the startling announcement that a band of eight hundred Iroquois was encamped below Montreal; and that four hundred more, who had wintered up the Ottawa, were to join these in an attack upon Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. Instantly the whole colony was in a panic, and everything was made ready for a desperate defence against the expected attack. Time passed, but no Iroquois appeared. The dreaded blow had been stayed by the gallantry of a little band of Montreal youths.

57. The Heroes of the Long Sault, 1660. — Adam Daulac, or Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, a young man of good family, who had joined the Montreal colony about three years earlier, applied to Maisonneuve for permission to lead out a small body of picked men in an attack upon the enemy. His purpose was to waylay the Iroquois as they descended the Ottawa and to check their advance upon the settlements. He had already tested the spirit of several of the young men of the community, and sixteen had sworn to follow him. At length the consent of the governor was gained, and

the intrepid youths prepared for their perilous venture. After having made their wills, they confessed, and knelt for the last time before the altar. As the sacraments were administered, the enthusiastic inhabitants of the little colony gathered about to admire and even to envy their youthful champions.



THE DEATH OF DOLLARD, SIEUR DES ORMEAUX, THE HERO OF THE LONG SAULT.

Below the rapids of the Long Sault, in a palisaded fort built the year before by some Algonquin hunters, the youthful heroes took up their position. Here they were joined by a band of forty Huron and Algonquin warriors, eager to share in striking a blow at their sworn foe. Two days later the enemy were upon them, confident of an easy victory over such a mere handful. Again and again, however, the assailants were driven back, each time leaving a number of their men lying

dead or wounded about the palisades. Becoming more cautious, they enticed the Hurons to desert by promising them safety, with the result that the latter, all except their chief, slipped out of the fort, one by one, and joined the besiegers. Even then, despairing of success, the Iroquois despatched messengers to the mouth of the Richelieu for reinforcements. Meanwhile, the gallant band of Frenchmen, supported by four Algonquins and one Huron, despite the distress of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, continued to keep the enemy at a distance. When the end came, it was before the onset of seven hundred yelling, bloodthirsty savages that the tottering palisades went down, and the undaunted defenders, scorning to accept quarter, were cut to pieces.

The fight

The heroism of Dollard and his companions-in-arms was not in vain. The colony was saved; the Iroquois, having had enough of fighting, departed for their homes crestfallen.

CHAPTER VII

1663–1672

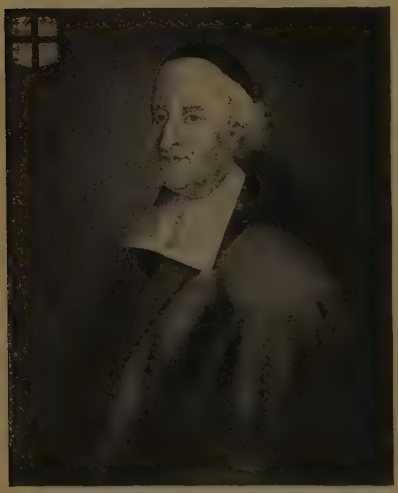
ROYAL GOVERNMENT

58. Strife within the Colony. — As if war upon her borders had not brought disaster enough, Canada's internal affairs were far from being in a peaceful state. The quiet of the colony was disturbed by the rivalry of traders, the quarrelling of priests, and the strife between bishop and governor. One cause of contention between the religious orders was the selection of a bishop. François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny, who became the first bishop of Canada, was strongly in sympathy with the Jesuits. Laval, although earnest and sincere in all his actions, was of an arbitrary disposition, which dragged him into continual struggles with the governor and with priests of a different order. Up to this time the Jesuits, being the most highly educated men in the colony, had exerted a strong influence not only in church matters, but also in government. This influence had been the greater because of the pious character of the early governors. But a change was now taking place. From being missions and trading-stations, Quebec and the other centres of population were becoming in reality colonies. Priests and traders were joined by soldiers and lawyers. The

Laval

later governors, too, were less inclined to listen to the advice of the priests, and it was with these more independent officials that Laval continually disagreed. Bishop and governor disputed over matters, which, trifling as they seem now, were at that time very important, for upon them depended the people's estimate of the relative power of each. But perhaps the greatest cause of friction was the liquor question, especially the sale of brandy to the Indians, an evil which later grew to alarming proportions. Laval, although he did not succeed in putting a stop to the traffic, yet did a great deal towards having it properly controlled.

Friction between the bishop and the governor



MONSEIGNEUR DE LAVAL.

59. Laval's Service to the Church and to Education. — Laval was instrumental in bringing about very important changes in the church and in education. He was anxious to have Canadian priests trained in the colony itself, and for that purpose established a seminary at Quebec. In addition to this institution there was opened a lesser school for the education of boys, which began with eight French and six Indian pupils. To these two schools there was added many years later

the Laval University, which very fittingly bears the name of the real founder of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

60. Royal Government, 1663. — In the year 1663 a very noteworthy change took place in the government of Canada, bringing to a close the rule of the fur companies. For thirty years the Company of the Hundred Associates had been on trial, and had failed to fulfil the terms of its agreement with the crown. Less than two thousand colonists had been brought out, and few even of these were real settlers. Outside of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, no protection was afforded those who were willing to cultivate the soil. Complaints of this unsatisfactory state of affairs had reached France both from the inhabitants themselves and from Laval, and now the king decided to make Canada a crown colony. Authority rested in a small Council, of which the most important members were the governor, the intendant, and the bishop. The governor commanded the army and conducted all dealings with foreign powers, including the Indians; the intendant controlled the finances of the colony and the administration of justice; the bishop ruled the church. The duties of governor and intendant were by no means clearly defined, and it is not surprising that we read of incessant strife between these two officials.

The rule of the Associates closed

Governor, intendant, and bishop

The ruler of France who brought about such sweeping changes in his colony was Louis XIV, to whom has been credited the saying, "I am the state," and who upon one occasion wrote, "It is God's will that whoever

is born a subject should not reason, but obey." It is little wonder, then, that with such a despotic king ruling in France, the government of Canada was one of absolute authority and monopoly. The "Company of the West" was given a monopoly of trade, but later, to meet the wishes of the colonial merchants, the privileges of the new organisation were restricted to the Tadousac district. The exclusive right of transporting furs, however, still left this Company in control of the commerce of Canada.

Despotism and monopoly

61. De Mézy and Laval. — Laval, who by his great influence at court had already secured the recall of two governors with whom he had quarrelled, was asked to name a successor. His choice was Saffray de Mézy, a veteran in war, who had passed out of a somewhat reckless youth into a middle age of extreme piety. In choosing the new ruler, Laval expected to be associated with one who would work out the policy which he had laid down as being the best for Canada, but no sooner was the governor upon the scene of his rule than he began to experience a sense of power and to assert himself accordingly. Once more the quarrel between governor and bishop broke out, this time in connection with the Council. De Mézy, thinking that three of the councillors were completely in accord with Laval, expelled them, and proposed to call a meeting of the people to elect new members. In appealing to the people, although he did so from no love of popular government, De Mézy made a fatal mistake, of which Laval quickly took advantage. The French king would allow no election by the people, and, upon hearing from the

bishop of the governor's proposal, he immediately recalled the latter.

62. Courcelle, Talon, and De Tracy. — The year 1665 saw the arrival at Quebec of three notable officials, the newly appointed governor, Daniel de Rémy, Sieur de Courcelle, the intendant, Jean Baptiste Talon, and a lieutenant-general in the person of the Marquis de Tracy. The coming of these officials marked the beginning of an era of settlement. During the same season two thousand people landed at Quebec. Real settlers were sent out, and horses and sheep were supplied by the home government. No longer were the struggling settlements to be exposed to the raids of a savage foe, for De Tracy had been commissioned to subdue or destroy the Iroquois. The instrument of this work of destruction was to be the famous Carignan-Salières regiment, the first force of regulars sent to America by the French. De Tracy lost no time in fulfilling his commission, and

JEAN TALON.

The Carignan-Salières regiment

at once set about the erection of a new fort near the mouth of the Richelieu. It was not, however, his intention to remain on the defensive, but rather to strike a decisive blow at the heart of the enemy's country.

63. De Tracy destroys the Mohawk Towns. — A mid-winter movement against the enemy, rashly undertaken by the governor, met with the failure it deserved. A second attempt was more successful. This time De Tracy and Courcelle set out from Quebec with a force of thirteen hundred men, consisting of six hundred Canadians, an equal number of regulars, and one hundred mission Indians. Their course lay up the Richelieu and Lakes Champlain and George, to the spot where later stood Fort William Henry. A winding trail led inland through the forest to the towns of the Mohawks. The latter, warned of the threatened attack, had prepared to defend their homes, but the sound of beaten drums and the sight of long files of soldiers threw them into a panic that ended in a general flight. Five towns in all, stored with ample supplies of food, were captured and burned before the very eyes of their late inhabitants, who looked out from their hiding-places in the forest upon the scene of destruction. The burning of the Mohawk towns had the desired effect, not only upon their inhabitants, but also upon the other four nations of the league. Early in the following spring their envoys appeared at Quebec to sue for peace. Canada now entered into the enjoyment of a rest from war, which lasted for a period of twenty years.

64. Progress of the Colony. — Having humbled the war-proud Iroquois, De Tracy returned to France, leav-

ing Courcelle and Talon to make the experiment of King Louis's paternal rule. Talon, the delicacy of whose appearance gave little promise of strength, was nevertheless an able official, and entered with zeal upon the task of making Canada a prosperous colony. He built a ship at the king's expense in order to teach the people to build for themselves. He sent out engineers to search for coal, lead, copper, and other minerals. He set the example of making tar, woollen cloth, and shoes. Nor was it to the internal affairs of the colony alone that this progressive official applied himself. Although his attempt to open a road across country to Acadia failed, he gave successful impulse to western exploration by sending Albanel in search of Hudson Bay, and St. Lusson to the country of the upper lakes. In 1668 Talon was forced by ill health to seek his recall, but two years later, fortunately for the colony, he resumed office.

Talon's good service

Under the direct rule of the crown the population of Canada was increased by an annual shipment of settlers. Most of the soldiers of the Carignan-Salières regiment, which had returned to France, were sent out again, and on receiving their discharge became settlers. Rewards were the inducement. Fifteen hundred *livres* were given to one officer who had married and taken up an estate in the country. Each soldier who settled was promised a grant of land and one hundred *livres* in money. Girls were sent out from France to become the wives of the settlers, care being taken to choose members of the peasant class who could withstand the hardships of life in a new

Efforts to increase the population

country. In order to encourage marriage, bounties were offered, and fathers who neglected to have their children married at an early age were fined. Bachelors were discouraged by Talon's order that no man unmarried should hunt, fish, or trade with the Indians. To parents with ten children was granted a pension of three hundred *livres* a year; to those with twelve, one of four hundred. In spite of all these devices the increase in population was not great, the reason being that the immigration consisted almost entirely of single men and women. In few cases did whole families emigrate from France.

The military character of settlement

In the upper part of the colony, which was most exposed to Indian attacks, the settlements took on a military character. Along the St. Lawrence from Montreal to the Richelieu, and up the latter stream for a considerable distance, the land was bestowed in large grants upon the officers of the Carignan regiment. They in turn divided their estates among their discharged privates, who under these altered circumstances served in the double capacity of farmers and soldiers. The officers, for safety, built their houses in groups and surrounded them with a palisade. In the neighbourhood of Quebec, where the settlers were less exposed to danger, the houses were scattered along the river front, the narrowness of the farms bringing them close together. This line of homes, as distinguished from a village, was called a *côte*. So commonly did the settlers build upon the river front, that a traveller, it was said, could see every house in Canada by paddling up the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu.

CHAPTER VIII

FRONTENAC

SECTION I. 1672–1682

FRONTENAC'S FIRST TERM OF OFFICE.

65. Count de Frontenac, 1672. — Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, who succeeded Courcelle as governor, was the strongest ruler Canada had seen since the death of Champlain. A descendant of an ancient French family, Frontenac early manifested a strong desire to become a soldier, a desire which was fully satisfied by active service in Holland. At nineteen he was colonel of a regiment, and at twenty-six brigadier-general. Following a brilliant career in the army came his appointment to the governorship of New France. Although fifty-two years of age, Frontenac retained the keen, fiery energy which characterised his youth. A "man of action," he was delighted with the scene of his new work. "I never," he wrote, "saw anything more superb than the position of this town (Quebec). It could not be better situated as the future capital of a great empire." In order to understand Frontenac's career in Canada, two facts must be remembered. In the first place, he had left France a ruined man financially, and as a result some of his later plans were entered into, not wholly for the public good, but partly

for his own profit. In the second place, he was unable to tolerate rivalry, and opposition often provoked him to great rashness.

66. Frontenac's First Quarrel. — The new governor was not long in finding some one with whom to quarrel. One Perrot, who was married to Talon's niece, had, through his connection with the intendant, secured the position of governor of Montreal. Of this office he was not slow to take advantage, making gain for himself, not always by honest means. Building a storehouse above Montreal, he intercepted the Indians on their way with furs to the regular market lower down the river. Further, he permitted his men to escape to the woods, where as *coureurs de bois* they traded with the natives, sharing their illegal profits with their commander. Frontenac sent a lieutenant with an order for the arrest of one of the Montreal offenders. Perrot, upon receiving Frontenac's letter, threw it in the face of the bearer, crying: "Take it back to your master,

LOUIS DE BUADE, COUNT FRONTENAC.

and tell him to teach you your business better another time. Meanwhile you are my prisoner." Later, this hot-headed official, obeying a summons from Frontenac to appear at Quebec and explain his conduct, was cast into prison and finally sent home to France. After a short imprisonment, he was restored to his governorship. The hanging of one *coureur de bois* had the effect of checking the lawlessness which was becoming common.

67. Strife between Frontenac and Duchesneau. — The king, while upholding Frontenac in his quarrel with Perrot, wished to put a check upon such a headstrong governor, and so sent out an intendant, Duchesneau, to watch his movements. From the outset governor and intendant were rivals, their rivalry becoming keenest in connection with the fur trade. Upon this question the entire population — *habitants*, traders, and merchants — was divided, the governor leading one faction, the intendant the other. Duchesneau wrote home charging Frontenac with encouraging *coureurs de bois* in his employ, and thus making illegal gain out of the fur trade. Frontenac brought similar charges against his rival. At length the king, becoming impatient at such continual discord, recalled both officials.

Governor and intendant recalled, 1682

Section 2. 1670–1682

The Opening of the West

68. The Jesuits in the West. — Amid the official strife wherewith Quebec and Montreal were torn, men had not lost interest in the still unexplored West. The

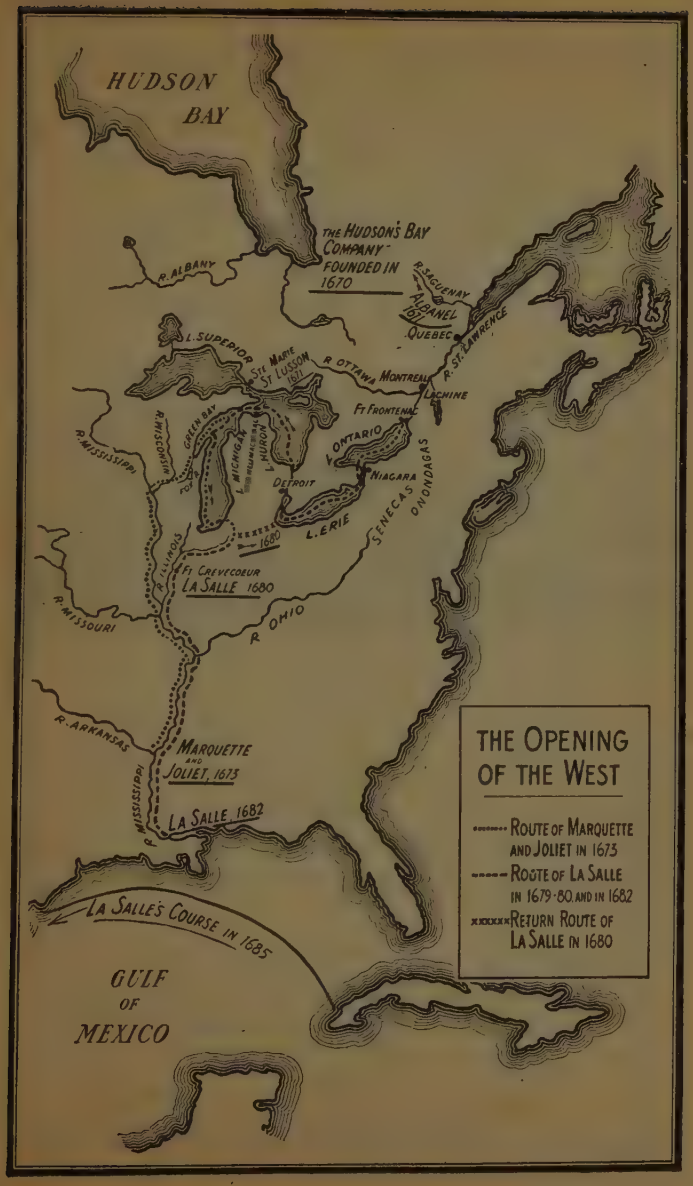
Jesuits, driven from their chosen field of labour by the destruction of the Huron nation, turned to the north-west, renewing their work by the shores of Lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan. They were no longer merely missionaries, but took a keen interest in exploration and in the extension of French influence. In this work they found a strong supporter in the energetic intendant, Talon. Under his direction St. Lusson made his way to Sault Ste. Marie, where, upon a neighbouring hilltop, surrounded by a group of Jesuits, he took formal possession of the "Great West" in the name of the king of France. Father Albanel, too, ascended the Saguenay on his way to Hudson Bay, but that this hardy priest found the object of his search is by no means certain.

St. Lusson

Albanel

69. The Hudson's Bay Company founded, 1670. — Meanwhile, in the north, representatives of another nation were gaining a foothold, from which they were soon to dispute with the French the possession of the territory to which St. Lusson had laid claim. As the Jesuit missionaries pressed westwards they were closely followed by the fur traders. Among the latter were two traders of Montreal, Medard Chouart, better known as Groseilliers, and Pierre Radisson, who had together made several trips into the country beyond Lake Superior. Here they had fallen in with Indians of the Assiniboine tribe, who gave them information of a great body of water lying far to the north. Henceforth Groseilliers's mind was filled with the purpose of finding this northern sea. Failing to gain the support of the French Company which con-

Groseilliers and Radisson


HUDSON BAY
THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY FOUNDED IN 1670
R. ALBANY
R. SAGUENAY
ALBANEL 1671
QUEBEC
R. ST. LAWRENCE
L. SUPERIOR
STE MARIE
ST LUSSON 1671
R. OTTAWA
MONTREAL
LACHINE
FT FRONTENAC
ONTARIO
NIAGARA
DETROIT
L. ERIE
SENECAS
ONONDAGAS
GREEN BAY
R. WISCONSIN
R. MISSISSIPPI
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
1680
R. ILLINOIS
FT CREVECOEUR
LA SALLE 1680
R. MISSOURI
R. OHIO
R. ARKANSAS
MARQUETTE AND JOLIET, 1673
R. MISSISSIPPI
LA SALLE 1682
LA SALLE'S COURSE IN 1685
GULF OF MEXICO
THE OPENING OF THE WEST
ROUTE OF MARQUETTE AND JOLIET IN 1673
ROUTE OF LA SALLE IN 1679-80 AND IN 1682
RETURN ROUTE OF LA SALLE IN 1680

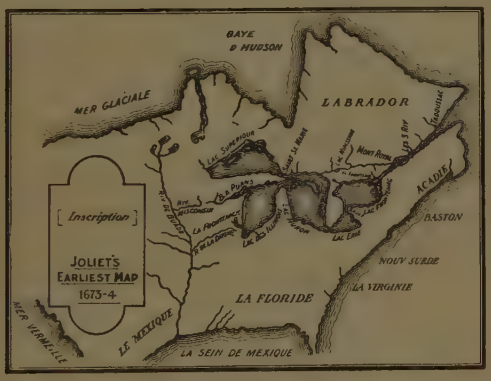
trolled trade in Canada, this persevering trader sought aid elsewhere, first at Boston, then at Paris, and finally in England. By good fortune he gained an audience with Prince Rupert, a cousin of Charles II, who at once became interested in his strange story. Groseilliers and his partner, Radisson, were placed in charge of two small ships. In these the voyage to Hudson Bay was safely made. At the southern extremity of the bay they erected Fort Charles, so called in honour of the English

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET SETTING OUT TO SEARCH FOR THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

sovereign, and here, without loss of time, they entered into a profitable trade with the northern Indians. So favourable was the report carried back to England, that the king granted a charter to "The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay," an organisation which from that time has continued to play an important part in the development of western Canada.

70. Marquette and Joliet discover the Mississippi, 1673. — Among the Jesuits of the Superior region was a young priest named Jacques Marquette. From the Illinois Indians he had heard of a mighty river to the west, no doubt the Mississippi, and this he longed to

reach. It happened that Talon had also received information of the same river, and had resolved to send out an expedition in quest of it. The man chosen for this undertaking was Louis Joliet, a Canadian by birth, the son of a wagon-maker who had served in the Company of the Hundred Associates. It was decided that Marquette should accompany the party; so Joliet repaired to Michilimackinac to join his chosen companion. The



course taken by the explorers lay across the upper end of Lake Michigan into Green Bay, and up the Fox River to its source. Here they made a *portage* of a mile and a half over prairie and through marsh, emerging upon the bank of the Wisconsin. Down this stream they paddled to the Mississippi, which they beheld, as Marquette writes, "with a joy which I cannot express." The voyagers descended the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas, but at this point, fearing the hostility of the Indians, they decided to turn back.

Four months from the time of their setting out the

explorers again sighted Green Bay. Parting here with the faithful companion of his travels, Joliet hastened on to Quebec, and had all but completed his long journey when a great misfortune befell him. "I had escaped," he writes to Frontenac, "every peril from the Indians; I had passed forty-two rapids, and was on the point of disembarking, full of joy at the success of so long and difficult an enterprise, when my canoe capsized, after all the danger seemed over. I lost two men and my box of papers, within sight of the first French settlements, which I had left almost two years before. Nothing remains to me but my life, and the ardent desire to employ it on any service which you may please to direct."

Joliet's misfortune

71. La Salle.—Of all the men who sacrificed ease, and in some cases even life, to the service of France in the West, the most devoted was René-Robert Cavelier, commonly called La Salle. Although a member of a burgher family, La Salle received a good education. It is said that he was for some years connected with the Jesuits, but that his ambition was too great to submit to the restraints of their order. He was a man of great pride, so great that he often repelled those about him. He was possessed, moreover, of a determined will, so that no obstacle was serious enough to turn him aside from a purpose once formed.

We find La Salle, shortly after his arrival in Canada, in possession of an estate at Lachine, eight miles above Montreal. The favourable situation of this property with reference to the fur trade brought its owner great profit, but it was soon evident that La Salle's ambition was not

to be satisfied with the acquisition of wealth alone. In trading with the Indians he heard that the Ohio River flowed into a distant sea, and he dreamed, like Champlain, of the riches of China and Japan. To convert his dreams into realities he sold his estate, and with the proceeds bought canoes and the outfit necessary for an exploratory journey. There is great uncertainty about La Salle's early wanderings. It seems probable that he found the Ohio and the Illinois, but that he followed neither stream as far as the Mississippi. Enough was learned, however, to convince him that these rivers found their outlet, not in a western ocean, but in the Gulf of Mexico. To explore and to secure for France the greater waterways connecting the Gulfs of St. Lawrence and Mexico became the life purpose of this ambitious youth.

His ambition

72. Frontenac and the Indians. — In all his projects La Salle had a powerful friend in Frontenac. It happened that the latter had decided to erect a fort on Lake Ontario, having in view the twofold purpose of controlling the Iroquois, and of intercepting the fur trade which was passing between the Indians of the upper lakes and the English colonists of New York. The location chosen for the new fort was at the mouth of the Cataraqui, the historic site of the city of Kingston. La Salle was despatched to the country of the Onondagas to invite the Iroquois to meet the governor, or the "Great Onontio," as they called him, in council at the new fort.

Fort Frontenac built

Frontenac spared no pains in making the council

impressive. Of all the French governors he was the most successful in dealing with the Indians. On this occasion he fondled the children, feasted the squaws, and won over the warriors with lavish gifts. Yet there was no lack of firmness in his manner, as may be gathered from his address. "Children, Mohawks, Oneidas,

THE BUILDING OF THE *GRIFFIN*.

Notice the group of Senecas, who are suspicious of the strangers and their ship.

Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, I am glad to see you here, where I have had a fire lighted for you to smoke by, and for me to talk to you. You have done well, my children, to obey the command of your Father. Take courage; you will hear his word, which is full of peace and tenderness. For do not think that I have come for war. My mind is full of peace, and she walks by my side. Courage, then, children, and take rest." Then in a warning voice he continued: "If your Father can come so far, with so great a force, through such dangerous rapids,

The "Great Onontio" addresses the Iroquois

merely to make you a visit of pleasure and friendship, what would he do, if you should awaken his anger, and make it necessary for him to punish his disobedient children? He is the arbiter of peace and war. Beware how you offend him." The Iroquois departed from the council deeply impressed by the "Great Onontio's" mingled kindness and firmness.

73. La Salle's Explorations. — Through the governor's influence La Salle was granted the seigniory of Fort Frontenac. The possession of such a valuable estate placed its owner in a position to realise his ambition. Raising the necessary money by mortgaging his seigniory, La Salle proceeded to pick his party. Of this the most conspicuous member was Henri de Tonti, an Italian officer who had lost a hand in the Sicilian wars. In November of 1678 a start was finally made from Fort Frontenac, in a small vessel which had been built on Lake Ontario. La Salle's plan was to erect a fort at Niagara, and above the cataract to build a second vessel. Both these steps were taken in the face of strong opposition on the part of the Senecas, who feared that from the new fort the intruders would intercept the fur trade which had hitherto passed through their own country.

The departure, 1678

It was August of the following year before La Salle and his company embarked upon the waters of Lake Erie in the *Griffin*, as the new vessel was called. Detroit and Michilimackinac were reached and passed without mishap. From Green Bay, which marked the next stage of travel, La Salle sent

The "Griffin"

back his vessel laden with the furs which had been collected by the way, while he and the remainder of his party continued the journey in canoes. After many adventures and untold suffering from cold and hunger, the lower end of Lake Michigan was reached, the point at which the pilot of the *Griffin* had been instructed to rejoin his commander. While waiting, the men constructed a rude fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

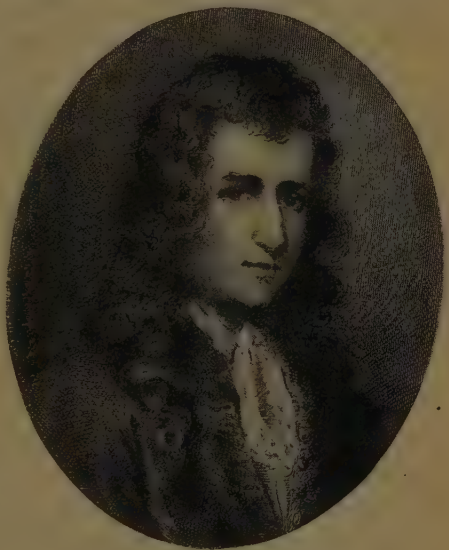
In December, thinking it unwise to further delay his advance, La Salle crossed over from the St. Joseph to the head waters of the Illinois. Drifting down this ever widening stream, he came suddenly upon a large Indian town. The inhabitants he found to be none too friendly, and his danger was increased by the desertion of six of his men. Distrusting the natives, La Salle built a fort, called Crèvecœur, and then set his followers to work upon the construction of another vessel, in which he hoped to sail down the Illinois and Mississippi. He himself decided to return to Canada to replenish his scanty store of supplies, and to replace the equipment for the new vessel, which he had expected the *Griffin* to bring, but which he now gave up for lost.

On the Illinois

La Salle chose to accompany him four Frenchmen and an Indian hunter, and with these companions he took anxious farewell of Tonti, whom he was leaving, we are told, "with two or three honest men and twelve or thirteen knaves to hold Fort Crèvecœur." The route taken was across country to the head of Lake Erie, and the extreme difficulty of the journey has been

described in a letter written by the explorer himself. "Though we must suffer all the time from hunger; sleep on the open ground, and often without food; watch by night for hostile Indians and march by day with baggage . . . sometimes pushing through thickets, sometimes climbing rocks covered with ice and snow, sometimes wading whole days through marshes where the water was waist-deep or even more, at a season when the snow was not entirely melted—though I knew all this, it did not prevent me from resolving to go on foot to Fort Frontenac, to learn for myself what had become of my vessel, and bring back the things we needed." At Niagara bad news awaited the unfortunate explorer. Not only had the *Griffin* been lost, but a ship from France bearing supplies for him had been wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

A trying march back to Canada



RÉNÉ ROBÉRT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

La Salle's affairs were now in a desperate state. His friends were in despair and his opponents in triumph,

A weaker man would have lost hope and abandoned his purpose, but not so this indomitable Frenchman. Without loss of time he set about the equipment of a small force wherewith to make again the long, wearisome journey to the Illinois. His one hope lay in Tonti. Had he survived the dangers of desertion and of Indian hostility? As the relief party descended the Illinois, nothing was to be seen of the defenders, so that La Salle began to hope that Fort Crèvecœur was still safe. How bitter his disappointment to find the fort destroyed and no trace of his lieutenant!

A second journey to the Illinois

HATCHET FOUND IN 1808.
Supposed to have belonged to La Salle.

It was not until the following summer that La Salle found Tonti, at Michilimackinac, and learned from him the fate of the defenders of Fort Crèvecœur. One day shortly after La Salle's departure for Canada, the majority of the garrison, taking advantage of their commander's absence, seized and destroyed the fort, carrying off powder, lead, furs, and provisions. The position of Tonti was perilous in the extreme, left as he was with five followers in the power of Indians who were by no means friendly. To add to the danger of the Frenchmen came the news of the coming of an Iroquois war party. Close upon the messenger came the onset. No effort on the part of Tonti could avert the blow, and when it had fallen the Illinois, whose banks had been peopled by a great tribe, flowed past a scene of utter desolation. Feeling

The adventures of Tonti

that nothing could be done for their allies, Tonti and his party embarked and ascended the river, making for Green Bay.

The joy of their reunion went far towards reconciling La Salle and his faithful lieutenant to the great misfortunes through which each had passed. Again La Salle returned to Canada, gathered men and supplies, and a third time turned his face towards the far West. The original plan of building a vessel on the Illinois was now abandoned, and in spite of the lateness of the season the party embarked in canoes. On the 6th of February they pushed out into the broad current of the Mississippi, and early in April the waters of the Gulf of Mexico burst upon their view. Rearing a column bearing the royal arms of France, La Salle formally took possession of the surrounding country, naming it Louisiana in honour of his king. Louisiana, now the name of one of the United States of America, was by La Salle applied to the vast area lying between the Alleghanies and the Rockies, between the Gulf of Mexico and the head waters of the Missouri. On his return to France he was loaded with honours and hailed as one of the great discoverers of the age.

A third attempt

La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi, 1682

Sad indeed was the fate of La Salle. Five years later, in an effort to found a colony at the mouth of the river he had explored, he was foully murdered by one of his own men, and his body left lying upon the open prairie, the prey of bird and beast.

Death of La Salle, 1687

Section 3. 1682–1689

THE IROQUOIS SCOURGE

74. Le Febvre de la Barre, 1682. — The reins of government, fallen from Frontenac's hands, were taken up by Le Febvre de la Barre, an officer who had served in the West Indies. The pressing care of the new governor's office was the hostility of the Iroquois. These shrewd warriors thought that if they subdued the Illinois, Ottawas, and Hurons they would be able to divert the current of trade which was pouring its wealth of furs into the French settlements, and cause it to flow in the direction of New York. Such was the situation with which La Barre had to cope. His manner at first was boastful. "The Iroquois," he writes to the king, "have twenty-six hundred warriors. I will attack them with twelve hundred men. They know me before seeing me, for they have been told by the English how roughly I handled them in the West Indies."

His boast

Unfortunately the governor's zeal spent itself, not in war, but in trade. More than a hundred canoes were despatched to Michilimackinac to hurry down furs before the Iroquois could occupy the banks of the Ottawa. It was only when the safety of his furs was threatened that the governor made a move to put his boastful threat into execution. A strong force of French and their Indian allies was mustered, while the western tribes were asked to join the expedition at Niagara. The ardent La Barre got no farther than Fort

His failure

Frontenac, where he entered into peace negotiations with the enemy, in which he failed utterly to secure the objects of his undertaking. The French cause suffered seriously in this connection, for the Iroquois became more insolent, while the Canadian tribes lost faith in their allies. La Barre, obviously unfitted for his office, was recalled, and his place taken by the Marquis de Denonville, "a pious colonel of dragoons."

The Marquis de Denonville, 1685

75. Commercial Rivalry of French and English Colonists. — It was a difficult task that faced the new governor, all the more difficult by reason of his predecessor's folly and his own lack of money and troops. Denonville was quick to see that it was not only the hostility of the Iroquois which he had to fear, but also the aggressive policy of the English colonists. The latter laid claim to all the country south of the Great Lakes, and were seeking to gain a hold upon the fur trade of the West and North-West. To add to the difficulty of the situation, the Hudson's Bay Company was drawing off the trade of the northern tribes. English and French were face to face in a struggle for commercial supremacy in the West, and their rivalry was bound sooner or later to break into a clash of arms. If the French won, the English colonies would be hemmed in along the Atlantic coast; if victory rested with the English, their rivals would be confined to the valley of the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois, occupying the territory claimed by both sides, fully realised that they held the balance of power, and were sure to prove an important factor in the coming struggle.

The Hudson's Bay Company had strengthened its position by the establishment of four trading-posts: one upon the west shore near the Nelson, and the other three, Forts Albany, Hayes, and Rupert, on the south arm of the bay. In Canada the fur trade was controlled by the Company of the North, whose members now resolved to destroy their northern rivals. This resolution

met with the favour of the governor. In the spring of 1686, therefore, Chevalier de Troyes, at the head of a company of eighty Frenchmen, including the three gallant sons of Charles le Moyne, left Montreal for Hudson Bay. Ascending the Ottawa, these adventurers worked their way slowly by stream and lake over the height of land to the neighbourhood of the nearest English post, Fort Hayes. So sudden was their coming, and so spirited their attack, that the assailants had scaled the palisade and burst open the blockhouse before the defenders real-

Chevalier de Troyes surprises the English posts on Hudson Bay, 1686

ised their danger. Forts Rupert and Albany shared a like fate. Leaving a force to hold the newly won forts, De Troyes returned to Quebec.

76. Denonville's Difficulties. — Meanwhile Denonville was preparing to strike an effective blow at the Iroquois, more particularly at the Senecas who were giving most trouble to Canada. In so doing he had two objects in view: first to foil the English, who were undoubtedly urging on the Senecas, and second to regain the confidence of the northern tribes, which had been shaken by La Barre's weakness. Preparations for a great expedition were hastened. The main force gathered at Fort Frontenac, while messengers were sent to summon the Indians and *coureurs de bois* of the West. Irondequoit Bay, on the south shore of Lake Ontario, was the meeting place, and here by a fortunate coincidence all the forces arrived upon the same day: from the east, the French and the mission Indians; from the west, the warriors of the Illinois under Tonti, and the Ottawas and Hurons of Michilimackinac; in all three thousand fighting men. Upon the march inland to the main town of the Senecas, a distance of twenty-two miles, the invaders fell into an ambuscade which came near to being their ruin. The enemy, however, mistaking the advance guard for the

THE MARQUIS DE DENONVILLE.

The great expedition against the Senecas, 1686

whole force, was surprised and put to flight by the main body under the governor's command. After destroying the town and the corn supplies of the enemy, Denonville returned to Lake Ontario. Before leaving the country he erected a fort at Niagara, where he left a garrison of one hundred men. The grand expedition had been only a partial success. It had strengthened the wavering allegiance of the western tribes, but it had failed even to cripple the Senecas, who quickly rebuilt their town. According to a converted Iroquois, Denonville had overturned a wasp's nest, and must now kill the wasps, or they would sting him.

The invasion of the Seneca country and the building of Fort Niagara aroused the anger of the New York colonists. It seems that the allies of the French, while descending the lakes to join Denonville, had captured two parties of English traders and seized their goods. The governor of New York now demanded the destruction of Fort Niagara and the restoration of the captured traders. Denonville, alarmed at these demands, at once promised to restore the English prisoners, and he soon had but little choice in the case of Fort Niagara. There had been left at the fort a store of bad provisions, the use of which caused an outbreak of disease. By the following spring only a dozen of the hundred defenders survived. The order was given to abandon Niagara.

Demands of the English

Niagara abandoned

Canada was in a wretched plight. The hostility of the Iroquois had put a stop to the fur trade for two years, and, as a result, famine threatened the unfortunate colony. The enemy were everywhere, usually in

small bands, seeking some straggling victim. The fields were abandoned, while the settlers sought safety in the forts. The governor, in writing to the king, thus describes the situation: "I cannot give you a truer idea of the war we have to wage with the Iroquois than by comparing them to a great number of wolves or other ferocious beasts, issuing out of a vast forest to ravage the neighbouring settlements. The people gather to hunt them down; but nobody can find their lair, for they are always in motion." It was felt that peace must be bought at any price. Denonville, who held a number of Iroquois prisoners, sent two or three of them home to induce their countrymen to send envoys to a peace council, promising if they did so to release the remainder of the captives. It looked as if peace were to be concluded, as the Iroquois sent their representatives as requested. These had reached Lake Ontario on their way to Montreal, when an unexpected event changed the whole situation.

Distress of the French

Denonville seeks peace

Among the Hurons about Michilimackinac was a clever chief named Kondiaronk, or the "Rat." This warrior had given the French much trouble, but they had overcome his hostility by promising never to make peace with the Iroquois. The "Rat," with a band of his followers, had taken the war-path in search of the enemy, when he suddenly learned at Fort Frontenac of the proposed truce. Enraged at this breach of faith on the part of his allies, the revengeful chief formed a plot to break off the peace negotiations. Leaving Fort Frontenac, apparently for

The "Rat" kills the peace

Michilimackinac, he hastened across Lake Ontario to La Famine, a point which he knew the Iroquois envoys must pass on their way to Montreal. When at length the latter appeared they were met with a volley of bullets. All but one were killed or wounded. Binding his captives, the "Rat" informed them that he was acting under orders from Denonville; whereupon the Iroquois protested that they were messengers of peace. Their captor, craftily pretending that the French governor had deceived him, released his prisoners, saying: "Go, my brothers, go home to your people. Though there is war between us, I give you your liberty. Onontio has made me to do so black a deed that I shall never be happy again till your five tribes take a just vengeance upon him."

The "Rat's" plan was completely successful, and the "vengeance" was not long delayed. Under the black shelter of a stormy summer night fifteen hundred warriors fell upon the settlement at Lachine, and began a massacre which, even amid the bloody horrors of border warfare, stands out in lurid colours. Subercase, the commander of the fort three miles away, had been absent in Montreal, and on his arrival next day houses were still burning, the ground was strewn with dead bodies, and corpses were hanging where the Indians had tortured them the night before. He and his men, full of fury, were setting out to attack the Iroquois, who had withdrawn about a mile and a half further on, when a messenger arrived with strict orders from Denonville to stand on the defensive. The next day eighty men, in the attempt to join Subercase in the fort, were cut in pieces before the eyes of the infuriated and chafing

garrison. The inhabitants of Montreal were crazed with fear, while for miles about the town the ruthless invaders burned and pillaged at their will. Finally they withdrew, hurling back their cry to the French, "Onontio, you deceived us, and now we have deceived you."

It was evident that Denonville was not the man to deal with such a situation, and he was accordingly recalled.

Section 4. 1689–1698

FRONTENAC SAVES NEW FRANCE

77. Frontenac again Governor, 1689. — The misfortunes of New France had all but reached a crisis. In his perplexity the king turned to the man whom he had a few years before recalled from the governorship. Frontenac, despite his seventy years, again assumed the burden of office. Warmly welcomed at Quebec, he lost no time in proceeding to Montreal to relieve Denonville. To his disgust he found that the latter had given an order for the destruction of Fort Frontenac. The outlook was gloomy indeed. The boldness of the Iroquois in attacking Montreal, and the inaction of the French soldiers during the massacre, had the effect of making the western tribes look with contempt upon their allies. Word was brought to Frontenac that a rising of the Indians about Michilimackinac might take place at any moment. There was real danger of an alliance of these Indians with the Iroquois, a combination which, backed by the English, would bring about the ruin of the French in Canada. By sending back some prisoners whom he held, Frontenac hoped to restore peace with the Iroquois, but unfortunately the

A crisis

latter were not so ready as before to listen to the voice of the "Great Onontio."

78. A Threefold Attack upon the English Colonists, 1690. — It was evident that only success in war could revive the spirit of the Canadians and the loyalty of their Indian allies. With this object in view, then, Frontenac began to make preparations for a threefold attack, not upon the Iroquois whom he could not reach, but upon the English whom he regarded as the authors of Canada's misfortunes. Three war parties were fitted out: one to attack Albany, a second the border of New Hampshire, a third that of Maine.

It was in the depth of winter that the first party, made up of two hundred and ten men, mainly *coureurs de bois* and Christian Indians, left Montreal on their long tramp up the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, "each with the hood of his blanket coat drawn over his head, a gun in his mittened hand, a knife, a hatchet, a tobacco pouch, and a bullet pouch at his belt, a pack on his shoulders, and his inseparable pipe hung at his neck in a leather case." The march proved so arduous that it was decided to divert the attack from Albany to the little town of Schenectady. Through deep drifts, in the face of a blinding snowstorm, the invaders finally approached the object of their attack. It was about midnight; the inhabitants, all unsuspecting of danger, lay buried in sleep; the gates of the town stood wide open. Passing stealthily in, the enemy surrounded the houses, and at a given signal burst in the doors. The unfortunate inmates had scarcely time to leap from their beds when they were beaten down by tomahawk or

Schenectady

knife. Women and children shared a like fate with the men. Sixty persons, we are told, were killed, of whom thirty-eight were men and youths, ten were women, and twelve children. About forty were captured and carried off by the victors when, after setting fire to the town, they began their retreat. The other two raids were equally successful, equally brutal.

79. The New Englanders Aroused. — The three war parties had been successful, and the effect which Frontenac desired was produced. "You cannot believe," he wrote of the capture of Schenectady, "the joy that this slight success has caused, and how much it contributes to raise the people from their dejection and terror." If, however, the French governor hoped that by such inhuman raids he would reduce the New England colonists to a state of fear, he mistook their character. The spring of 1690 found the New Englanders busy upon a plan for the invasion of Canada both by land and by water.

A large force of colonists and Iroquois was to muster at Albany for an attack upon Montreal. Meanwhile a fleet was to proceed against Quebec. The command of this fleet was entrusted to William Phips, who had earlier in the season taken Port Royal in Acadia. Phips, the son of poor parents, had up to the age of eighteen tended sheep, and afterwards learned the trade of ship-carpentering. He married a widow with money, to whom he gave the promise that he would one day command a king's ship and own a "fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston." Phips made good his promise, for he became rich by the dis-

William Phips

covery of a Spanish galleon, containing a treasure of gold, which had been wrecked somewhere in the West Indian seas. With wealth came the honour of knighthood. Sir William it was, one time shepherd, who with a fleet of thirty-four trading and fishing vessels of all sizes, manned by about two thousand sailors and soldiers, undertook the capture of the stronghold of Quebec.

A movement against Montreal fails

Meanwhile Frontenac, warned of these hostile movements on the part of the English colonists, was busy making every preparation to meet the attack. Any precautions taken for the defence of Montreal were unnecessary, for the militia which had assembled at Albany got no further than Lake Champlain. Here quarrelling among the troops, scarcity of canoes, and an outbreak of smallpox among the Indian allies blocked further progress. The announcement that a fleet had sailed from Boston to attack Quebec drew Frontenac post haste to the new point of danger; nor was he any too soon, for two days after his arrival Phips's fleet sailed into the basin before the town.

The English commander at once despatched an officer with a letter to the governor, demanding the surrender of Quebec, an answer to be given within an hour. The officer was not kept waiting an hour. "I will answer your general," cried Frontenac, "only by the mouths of my cannon, that he may learn that a man like me is not to be summoned after this fashion. Let him do his best, and I will do mine." If Phips looked for any such easy capture of the Canadian stronghold as fell to the lot of Kirke, he was doomed to disappointment. While he was casting about for a plan

of attack, a reinforcement of eight hundred regulars and *coureurs de bois* succeeded in entering the besieged town. Phips's plan was to land a strong force of militia to attack the palisades in the rear, while the fleet bombarded the town from the river. Unfortunately he allowed his fleet to be drawn into action too soon, with the result that his ammunition was exhausted before the time came to coöperate with the land force. Moreover, his ships suffered so much in the exchange of fire, that he was forced to raise the siege. It has been said that had the English arrived a week earlier, Quebec would have fallen for lack of men; or had they remained a week longer the garrison would have been forced by famine to surrender.

Phips before Quebec, 1690

80. Border Warfare. — The next four years were filled with border warfare, in which both sides suffered and inflicted great loss. The Iroquois continued to make their deadly raids upon the outlying settlements, but their very success, rendering them careless, drew down upon them at times severe punishment. Quick to see that the bulk of the furs reached the French by way of the Ottawa, they continually beset that stream in strong bands. As the continuance of the fur trade was essential to the welfare of the colony, every effort was put forth by Frontenac to keep the Ottawa open; as a consequence the banks of that important waterway were the scene of many a desperate encounter between the French and the Iroquois.

81. The Heroine of Verchères. — In this period of distress and danger it was the settlers of the upper

St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Three Rivers, who suffered most. Every precaution was taken against sudden attacks. The farmers worked together, passing in a body from one field to another, and were often guarded by a detachment of soldiers. At night all

took refuge in the nearest fort. The story of one incident of this period reads like a romance. About twenty miles below Montreal lay the seigniory of Verchères, which, in the absence of the seignior, had been left in charge of two soldiers, two boys, an old man, and a few women and children. Madeleine, the fourteen-year-old daughter of the seignior, standing one morning near the river, was suddenly startled by the cry of a hired

man, "Run, Mademoiselle, run; here come the Iroquois." The maiden ran for the fort with the bullets whistling about her head, and closed and barred the gate. All within were panic-stricken, the women crying and the soldiers hiding; Madeleine alone was calm. Assuming command, the little heroine prepared to defend her father's home. With the aid of the two soldiers and her young brothers, she succeeded in keeping off the Indians for a whole week, until help arrived from Montreal.

82. The War upon the Acadian Border. — The struggle between the French and English colonists was not confined to the Lake Champlain district, but spread to Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay. The French, while fighting with the English of New York and their Iroquois allies, were also harassing the New Englanders, or "Bostonnais," from the borders of Acadia. The French claimed that Acadia included Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the greater part of the state of Maine, thus putting the boundary at the Kennebec River, while the English claim placed it at the St. Croix. There were not more than a thousand colonists in Acadia, the principal settlements being at Port Royal, Beaubassin, and Les Mines. Scattered along the coasts were the fishermen, and throughout the forests the fur traders. The territory lying between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, claimed by both French and English, was occupied by the Abenakis.

Rival claims

Acadia had no ready communication with Quebec, while Boston was within easy reach, so that the

French governor was continually anxious about the trade which was sometimes secretly carried on between the Acadians and their English neighbours. There was danger, too, of peace being made between the Abenakis and the "Bostonnais," a reconciliation which would be a great misfortune to the French, who looked to the native tribes to keep the English in check and so guard the settlements on the St. Lawrence. By every means possible

The Abenakis incited by the French to attack the English

FRONTIER VILLAGE PALISADE.

the Abenakis were urged to attack the English. They were supplied with guns, powder, and lead, and were incited to the war-path by the agents of the French. Several murderous raids followed, claiming their scores of victims, men, women, and children alike. "This stroke," writes a Frenchman of one of these raids, "is of great advantage, because it breaks off all the talk of peace between our Indians and the English. The English are in despair, for not even infants in the cradle were spared." The bloodthirstiness of the Abenakis was for the time being satisfied. In order to restrain

them from further attacks the English built a stone fort on the River Pemaquid.

In this border warfare the English were the greater sufferers. The French settlers on the St. Lawrence, although scattered along the river, were within easy reach of one another, and could readily take refuge in their forts. The border line of New England, between two and three hundred miles in length, was dotted here and there with hamlets separated by miles of impassable forests. Some of these isolated houses were strengthened by fortifications, and were called "garrison houses." The French and their Indian allies, adopting the tactics of the Iroquois, would seldom attack these strongholds, but, dividing their force into small bands, they would fall upon the straggling settlers, whom they massacred without respect to age or sex.

Sufferings of the English border settlers

But why were these inhuman raids even countenanced by the French? It is said that the aim of the latter was to prevent the New Englanders from attacking Canada by keeping them on the defensive. And yet the New Englanders did not show any disposition to attack Canada until after these border raids took place. It is nearer the truth to say that Frontenac encouraged these attacks upon the English, both to check their allies, the Iroquois, and to inspire confidence in his own Indians. Moreover, by retaining control of the Abenakis and using them to terrorise the "Bostonnais," the French hoped to make good their claim to the State of Maine. French influence at this point was strengthened by the capture of the

The inhumanity of the French

English fort at the mouth of the Pemaquid, the achievement of the gallant Le Moyne D'Iberville.

83. Pierre le Moyne D'Iberville. — No man did more in this period to uphold the power of France in North America than did Pierre le Moyne D'Iberville. He had been the right-hand man of De Troyes in the seizure of the English posts upon Hudson Bay, and had more recently commanded in the capture of Fort Pemaquid. The scene of his next achievement was Newfoundland, where, by hard, mid-winter marching he seized all the English settlements on the island. Almost immediately after, he received orders from Quebec to take charge of a fleet which had been fitted out for an attack upon Fort Nelson, called by the French Bourbon, the most important trading-post on Hudson Bay. In passing through the ice floes at the entrance to the bay, the *Pelican*, which carried the commander, became separated from the rest of the fleet and sailed alone for Fort Nelson. As he drew

In Newfoundland, 1696

PIERRE LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE.

near his destination, D'Iberville caught sight of what he thought to be his lost vessels. They proved, however, to be three English ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. Careless of the odds against him, the Frenchman prepared for action. In the encounter which followed, the *Pelican* sank one of the Company's ships and disabled a second, while the third made off under full sail. During the next night a storm arose and drove the *Pelican* ashore, but most of the crew managed to reach land, where they were later picked up by the three ships which had been caught in the ice-floes. Fort Nelson was at once attacked, and, despite a spirited resistance on the part of the defenders, was quickly captured.

Captures Fort Nelson on Hudson Bay, 1697

84. Frontenac invades the Country of the Onondagas. — Meanwhile Frontenac was putting forth every effort to make with the Iroquois a truce which would include the western Indians, but there seemed little prospect of his succeeding. The Five Nations were still pursuing their old object of winning over the tribes of the lakes to trade with the English at Albany. At Michilimackinac there were two parties, the one headed by the "Baron," a staunch ally of the Iroquois, the other by the "Rat," who had again become a fast friend of the French. Frontenac, alive to the danger of such a division, resolved by one blow to humble his foes and to reassure his wavering allies. After rebuilding Fort Frontenac, he led a force of twenty-two hundred men into the country of the Onondagas, only to find the main town of the enemy in ashes. The wily inhabitants had burned everything and withdrawn into the

forests beyond. Nothing remained for the invaders but to hack down the fields of maize, and retrace their weary course to Montreal.

85. Death of Frontenac, 1698. — In 1697 the peace of Ryswick put an end to the war between England and France, and restored peace to the troubled border that lay between their American colonies. In the following year, at the age of seventy-eight, Frontenac died. The grief of the people was great, for with the poorer classes the late governor's generosity had made him very popular. If any charge can fairly be brought against Frontenac, it is that he encouraged the Indian raids upon the New England colonies, and yet in this he was no worse than the governors before and after him. Unyielding to his foes and loyal to his friends, he counted many in each class. His entire career bears testimony to his remarkable ability in managing the Indians. Upon the whole his work in Canada was a success. At his coming he had found the country upon the verge of ruin; at the hour of his death the French cause in Canada was almost triumphant.

The peace of Ryswick, 1697

FRONTENAC'S COAT OF ARMS AND AUTOGRAPH.

Three years after the peace of Ryswick the object of Frontenac, the bringing of the Iroquois into peaceful relations with both the French and their allies, was

accomplished. A great council was held at Montreal, where thirteen hundred warriors met to smoke the pipe of peace and exchange belts of *wampum*. Abenakis were there from Acadia, Hurons and Ottawas from Lake Superior, Crees from the far North-West, Miamis from the St. Joseph, and Illinois from the distant river which had witnessed the disasters of La Salle.

The Indians at peace, 1700

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONDITION OF CANADA UNDER THE FRENCH

86. Feudalism in Canada. — French Canadian society was, as far as the conditions of the country allowed, modelled after the feudal system, which flourished in Europe in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. There was a theory that the king received his land from God as a fief, or feud, — hence the term *feudalism*. In reality the king owned the soil by right of the sword. Dividing the land, he granted it in fiefs to the great nobles who had helped him in war. These nobles, in turn, sublet their fiefs to their followers. He who granted the fief was called a suzerain, liege, or lord; he to whom the grant was made, a vassal, liegeman, or retainer. This relationship existing between lord and vassal was one of mutual benefit. The lord promised protection, the vassal service. The ceremony connected with the granting of a fief, that of homage, was a very solemn one. The person who was to become a vassal, kneeling with head uncovered, and placing his hands within those of his future lord, vowed henceforth to be his man (*homo* — hence "homage") and to serve him faithfully.

The feudal system in Europe

It was the great statesman Richelieu who introduced feudalism into Canada, in connection with the charter

of the Hundred Associates. His object in so doing was twofold: first to create a Canadian aristocracy, and second — the main reason — to establish an easy system of dividing the land among settlers. The seignior, as the suzerain was called in Canada, receiving a fief from the king, became his vassal, and in turn made grants to the *censitaires*, those who held their land in virtue of the payment of *cens*, or quit-rent. The lowest class in Canadian society, the cultivators of the soil, were known as the *habitants*. Every one who received a fief passed through the ceremony of homage. Thus we find the vassal of the seignior of Beauport kneeling with head bared before his overlord, and repeating the solemn words, "Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, I bring you the faith and homage which I am bound to

Feudalism introduced into Canada

OLD HOUSES AT POINT LÉVIS.

bring you on account of my fief Du Buisson, which I hold as a man of faith of your seigniory of Beauport, declaring that I offer to pay my seigniorial and feudal dues in their season, and demanding of you to accept me in faith and homage as aforesaid."

That the land might not lie waste, the seignior was forced, by the terms of his grant, to clear his estate within a certain time. As he was usually too poor to do this himself, and as he could not sell any part uncleared, he was compelled to grant it to others at a small rental. The rental varied from half a cent to two cents for each acre, and was paid, part in money, part in live fowls, wheat, or eggs. The land of the *censitaire* passed at his death to his children, but if he sold it, he was called upon to pay to his seignior one-twelfth of the price received. In like manner, if a seignior parted with his estate, the king was entitled to one-fifth of the purchase money. Some demands made upon the *censitaire*, though not often enforced, were that he should grind his grain in the seignior's mill, bake his bread in the seignior's oven, and give him one fish out of every eleven for the right of fishing in the river flowing past his land.

Seignior and censitaire

Under a European feudal system the seigniors were nobles, but in Canada more than half the seigniories were held by prosperous merchants or farmers. Colonial seigniories could be bought, while entry into the nobility was dependent upon the king's will. The nobles of France were too fond of the court to exchange its pleasures for the privations of colonial life. The

Canadian nobility was, therefore, composed of some officers of the Carignan regiment and a few of the more prominent colonists to whom the king had granted patents of nobility. In some cases money bought this honour. Thus, we are told, a certain shopkeeper of Montreal was made a gentleman on payment of six thousand *livres*.

The Canadian nobility

PLAN OF FORT ST. LOUIS, QUEBEC, 1683.

The lot of the more aristocratic of these Canadian nobles was not a very fortunate one, their poverty being extreme. Prevented by their rank from cultivating the soil or engaging in trade, they quickly fell into debt. Despite the aid which they received from the king, their position grew from bad to worse. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that they

took advantage of the only occupation open to them, namely, the fur trade. It was from this class of exiled gentlemen, steeped in forest-lore, that the great explorers were drawn, and, in time of war, the most gallant defenders of New France.

87. The Government. — Subject to the will of the king, the absolute rule of Canada rested with the governor, the intendant, and a Council enjoying legislative, judicial, and executive powers. The governor, save during the early years of the colony, was usually a military leader and a noble, often of high rank. The control of the army lay in his hands, and also the power

CHÂTEAU DE ST. LOUIS, 1698.

to deal with the Indians and other outsiders. The intendant, on the other hand, was usually of the legal class, and being of humble rank, was the more dependent upon the king. Yet the power of this official within the colony was very great. He controlled the public funds and presided at the meetings of the Council. In fact, according to his commission, he was "to order everything as he should see just and proper." The intendant was in reality a spy upon the governor, and wrote letters regularly to court telling all about his associate's actions. The governor was equally diligent in letter-writing, giving his version of each story told by his rival. Thus the king was kept well informed on colonial questions.

Governor and intendant

For the administration of justice there was an attorney-general to hear complaints, and if necessary submit them to the Council. At Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal there were local judges, appointed by the king, from whom appeal could be made to the Council. In trivial cases the seigniors administered justice among the *habitants*. There was also the bishop's court at Quebec, to deal with offences against the church. Above all courts and even the Council was the intendant, who had the right to try any case.

The administration of justice

The whole system of government was despotic. A meeting of the people of Quebec, called to discuss the price of bread and the supply of firewood, was promptly suppressed. An official, called the *syndic*, whom each town had been allowed to choose as a local leader, disappeared at the king's bidding. All classes were subject to the crown. "It is of very great consequence," writes one intendant, "that the people should not be left at liberty to speak their minds." And yet Louis XIV, although an arbitrary ruler, was deeply interested in the welfare of his American colony. His gifts to missions and hospitals were liberal, and his support of all kinds of trades and industries was generous. This generosity, however, was not altogether a benefit. It would have been better for New France had she been left to build up her industries by the unaided exertions of her citizens.

Despotic rule

88. The Fur Trade. — From the earliest times trade was hampered by monopoly. Even when there was no company enforcing a charter, such restrictions were

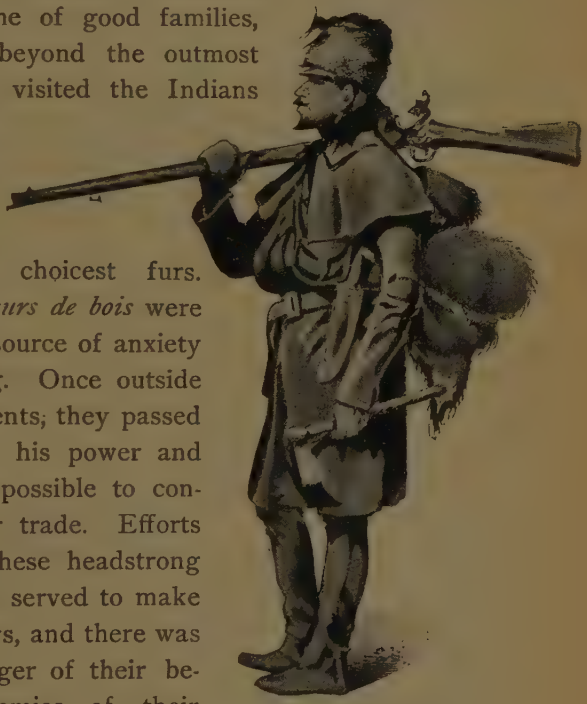
put upon the traders as discouraged private enterprise. The most profitable of all trades in Canada was that in furs. Of this the government strove to retain control by inviting the Indians to bring their furs to the settlements, and by preventing the traders from going into the forests. In order to further this object, a great fair was held annually at Montreal, to which the Indians were urged to bring their furs for barter. Hither fleets of canoes, laden with beaver skins, made their way down the Ottawa. When the fair had been formally opened, usually by the governor, the merchants fell to trading with their dusky visitors, receiving costly furs in exchange for necessaries of the hunt or ornaments for the person. Upon such occasions it was impossible to control the sale of brandy, so that too often the fair ended in drunken rioting. Nor was the plan altogether a commercial success. The more daring traders, in defiance of the laws, settled above Montreal, intercepted the

A CANADIAN TRAPPER.

The annual fair at Montreal

Indians on their way to the fair, and by a liberal use of brandy persuaded them to part with their furs at low prices.

89. The Coureurs de Bois. — Nor did lawlessness stop here. Many adventurous youths, some of good families, advancing beyond the outmost settlements, visited the Indians in their distant villages and there secured the choicest furs. These *coureurs de bois* were a constant source of anxiety to the king. Once outside the settlements, they passed from under his power and made it impossible to control the fur trade. Efforts to punish these headstrong youths only served to make them outlaws, and there was serious danger of their becoming enemies of their country. So quickly did their number increase that at one time they made up one-twelfth of a population of ten thousand. It was love of adventure that won these restless spirits from the unattractive work of farming within the colony. Such was the freedom of life in the forest, where they



COUREUR DE BOIS.

consorted with the savage children of nature, that the return of a party of *coureurs de bois* to Montreal was usually the occasion of unrestrained revelry. Every house, we learn, was turned into a place of drinking. The visitors, clad in costumes as scanty as those of the most uncivilised savages, decked out in ornaments French and Indian, gave themselves up to an excess of drinking and gambling. When the last of their dearly earned furs had been thrown away as the price of their entertainment, they plunged again into the woods, to take up once more the wild life which a brief season of dissipation had interrupted.

90. The Missions. — The missions to the Hurons and to the Onondagas had closed in disaster, but no sooner had De Tracy's military display restored peace than the Jesuits again entered the field. The Iroquois were the object of their missionary care. Their purpose in seeking these warlike tribes was twofold: to convert them, and to win them over from the English and Dutch to the side of the French. What measure of success crowned their efforts, after events show. The greatest obstacle with which the missionaries had to contend was the liquor traffic, carried on both by the Dutch and English traders among the Iroquois and by the *coureurs de bois* and garrison soldiers among the Canadian Indians. One missionary writing to the intendant says: "Our missions are reduced to such extremity that we can no longer maintain them against the infinity of disorder which the infamous traffic in brandy has spread universally among the Indians of these parts." He charges the soldiers of

the garrisons with making unlawful gain out of the fur trade by the free use of brandy, and with sharing the profit with their commander. This same missionary is equally severe in his criticism of the *coureurs de bois* and their practice of trading with the Indians. "It serves only to rob the country of all its young men, . . . to accustom the *coureurs de bois* to live in constant idleness, unfit them for any trade, and render them useless to themselves, their families, and the public."

The Jesuits strove to have the brandy traffic stopped, on the ground that it was ruining the missions. Those, on the other hand, who were interested in the traffic urged that without the use of brandy the French would lose the fur trade; the Dutch and the English merchants made use of liquor in trading, and the Indians went wherever "fire-water" was to be had. Influenced by the argument of the traders, the king refused to stop the liquor traffic, although he ordered it to be controlled.

The liquor traffic

91. Social Disorders. — The moral state of the colony prior to 1663 was much better than after that date. The population was small and well under the control of the missionaries. But with the establishment of "royal government" came a change. When the tide of immigration set in, many of the newcomers were found to be of a doubtful character. The soldiers of the Carignan regiment, accustomed to all the license of camp life, did not improve the morality of the young settlements in which they were stationed. Some of their officers were far from setting a good example, as they made profit out of the sale of brandy to the Indians,

All things considered, it was only natural that disorder should prevail. The few thousand settlers were scattered along the St. Lawrence for a distance of over three hundred miles, in groups of houses ranging from three to twenty. Between these settlements the only means of communication was by canoe, so that it was at rare intervals that officers of the church or state visited them.

THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC.
Founded in 1639.

92. A Picture of Town and Country Life. — One historian has given us a picture of the town and country life of the early French Canadians. "August, September, and October were the busy months at Quebec. Then the ships from France discharged their lading, the shops and warehouses of the lower town were filled with goods, and the *habitants* came to town to make their purchases. When the frosts began, the vessels sailed away, the harbour was deserted, the streets were silent again, and like ants or squirrels the people set to work to lay in their winter stores. Fathers of families packed their cellars with beets, carrots, potatoes, and cabbages; and, at the end of autumn, with meat, fowls, game, fish, and eels, all frozen to stony hardness. Most of the shops closed, and the long season of leisure

and amusement began. . . . In the country parishes there was the same autumnal storing away of frozen vegetables, meat, fish, and eels, and unfortunately the same surfeit of leisure through five months of the year. During the seventeenth century many of the people were so poor that women were forced to keep at home from sheer want of winter clothing. Nothing, however, could prevent their running from house to house to exchange gossip with the neighbours, who all knew each other, and, having nothing else to do, discussed each other's affairs with an industry which often bred bitter quarrels. At a later period a more general introduction of family weaving and spinning served at once to furnish clothing and to promote domestic peace."

CHAPTER X

A HALF-CENTURY OF CONFLICT

SECTION I. 1697–1713

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

93. French and British Interests in the West. — Canada and the northern British colonies had but a short breathing space following the peace of Ryswick. Both were tired of war, and needed rest; yet both promptly prepared for a renewal of the struggle. For a time a strange state of affairs prevailed. During the early years of the war hostilities were confined entirely to the eastern frontier, Maine being the scene of action. The explanation of this fact is to be found in the history of the fur trade. The French drew all their valuable furs from the tribes of the western lakes. The British and Dutch were putting forth every effort to attract these same tribes to Albany. Between the British and the western Indians lay the shrewd Iroquois, who were anxious to act as middlemen between the West and the East. While French, British, and Iroquois were rivals in trade, they were united in their effort to avert war, which would block the channel of their common gain.

War averted

There had always been two opposing policies in French Canada, the one favouring concentration, the

other expansion. The party upholding the former wished to confine settlement to the banks of the St. Lawrence, leaving the more distant field to the missionaries, while the advocates of the latter advised the planting of military posts throughout the western portion of the colony. Of the expansionists was Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac, at one time commandant of Michilimackinac. He it was who proposed that a settlement and fort should be established at the "Strait" (*détroit*) connecting Lakes Huron and Erie, the key to the upper lakes. The importance of this point was very great indeed. If it were occupied by the British, the French would be cut off from the base of their fur supply, while, on the other hand, if held by the French, it would serve as a check upon both the British and the Iroquois in their dealings with the western tribes. Yet Cadillac's scheme was strongly opposed. The merchants of Montreal, anxious to have the Indians come down to the St. Lawrence with their furs, knew that with a trading-post at Detroit, they would not undertake the longer journey. In spite of all opposition, however, Detroit was occupied in 1701.

Antoine de la Mothe-Cadillac occupies Detroit, 1701

94. The War in Acadia. — The struggle between the French and British colonists began, as has been said, on the border between Acadia and Maine, and the principal actors were the Abenakis. These savages, easily influenced by the French agents among them, had dyed their hands in the blood of British settlers during the recent war, and were again ready for the war-path. Left to themselves, the Abenakis, attracted by

the cheapness of the goods offered by the Boston traders, would have been disposed to keep the peace. The French, however, incited them to war. A letter written by Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, explains the motive. "I have sent no war party towards Albany

OLD FRENCH MAGAZINE, ANNAPOLIS.

The stones used for the arch of the interior and the corners were brought from France in 1642. The walls are seven and one-half feet thick.

because we must do nothing that might cause a rupture between us and the Iroquois; but we must keep things astir in the direction of Boston, or else the Abenakis will declare for the English." Thus were the New Englanders, who had no part in causing the struggle, plunged into the midst of an Indian war with all its burning and butchering. No settlement on the border escaped. In one month as many as one hundred and sixty persons

of all ages were slain or captured. "By far the most dangerous and harassing attacks were those of small parties skulking under the edge of the forest, or lying hidden for days together, watching their opportunity to murder unawares, and vanishing when they had done so. Against such an enemy there was no defence. . . . Fighting was rarely possible; for on reaching the scene of action the soldiers found nothing but mangled corpses and burning houses."

FRENCH SOLDIER AT END OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

When the French struck, through their Indian allies, at the New England frontier, the British colonists found it difficult to strike back. They were barred by miles of pathless forests, haunted by a savage foe protecting the settlements of Canada. Naturally, therefore, they turned against the French colony which they could reach easily by sea. Thus Acadia was made to bear the brunt of a war which her sister colony had provoked. Port Royal, the seat of the Acadian government, became the special object of attack, but for several years was in little danger; not because of its strength,—the garrison numbering less than two hundred men,—but owing to the inexperience of the New England soldiers and the

The New Englanders retaliate

incompetence of their commanders. No less than three attempts upon the Acadian capital ended in hopeless failure. In 1709, encouraged by the promise of aid from the mother country, the British colonists planned the conquest of all Canada. The promised aid did not arrive, and the ambitious scheme was abandoned. In the following year the New Englanders, acting alone, captured Port Royal and named it Annapolis Royal. As there was no other stronghold in the country, the capture of Port Royal meant the transference of all Acadia to the British.

Port Royal taken and renamed Annapolis, 1710

British Soldier at end of Seventeenth Century.

95. Failure of a Movement against Quebec. — In 1711 the long-promised aid from Britain arrived, and again a gigantic scheme for the conquest of Canada was entered into. A land force was to advance against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, while an unusually large fleet, made up of nine ships-of-war and about sixty transports, carrying in all twelve thousand men, sailed for the St. Lawrence. Amid the elaborate preparations, however, pilots had

been forgotten, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence the fleet was driven ashore and eight transports were wrecked. This mishap was not serious enough to stop the expedition, but the two leaders, Hill and Walker, the one a mere court favourite and the other an incompetent, were only too glad to avail themselves of any pretext for retreating. The capture of Quebec was reserved to be the honourable achievement of a worthier son of Britain.

96. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. — The treaty of Utrecht closed the war without removing its cause. It is true that France acknowledged the Iroquois to be British subjects, and ceded to Great Britain Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, "according to its ancient limits." Yet many important questions remained unsettled. In Acadia, was Britain gaining a vast extent of territory or only a strip of sea-coast? Were the Abenakis French or British subjects? Above all, was Britain or France to hold the valley of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes, and with them the virtual control of a continent? Any one of these questions carried with it the germ of a future war.

Section 2. 1713–1744

A TROUBLED PEACE

97. The French build Louisburg. — While giving up Acadia the French clung to Cape Breton — Ile Royale as they called it. By fortifying this island they hoped to guard the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and also to have a convenient base of operations for the recapture of Acadia at a later date. The south-east shore pre

sented a rock-bound harbour, easy of access and defence. Here the French planted a strong fortress, calling it, in the king's honour, Louisburg. Although admirably situated as a fishing-station and a military stronghold, Louisburg offered no attraction to settlers, surrounded as it was by hills and marshes. An attempt was made to induce the Acadians to move to the new settlement, but they were unwilling to exchange their fruitful lands for the less productive soil of Ile Royale.

98. Acadia under British Rule.[1] — While the French were eager to remove the Acadians to Ile Royale, the British were equally anxious to have them remain, both because they were necessary to the prosperity of the country and because at Louisburg they would be dangerous neighbours. From the treaty of Utrecht until the outbreak of the next war the Acadian situation was a strange one. Britain owned the country, and yet to enforce ownership had only the handful of men shut up within the fort at Annapolis. The French inhabitants were rapidly multiplying. Nor had the French government really given up the Acadians. The governor of Ile Royale was charged with the supervision of Acadian affairs. His agents were constantly going and coming among the Acadians, persuading them to refuse obedience to the British crown. The Acadians themselves refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain unless it were specially provided that they would not be compelled to take up

[1] For a full consideration of this much discussed question, see Parkman's *Wolfe and Montcalm*, and *A Half-Century of Conflict*, and Richard's *Acadia: Missing Links in a Lost Chapter of American History*.

arms against the French, and to this determination they clung with an unexpected obstinacy. This spirit on the part of the Acadians encouraged the French agents, who, feeling that British occupation was only temporary, put forth every effort to keep the people loyal to the cause of their late sovereign Louis. In many cases these agents made no attempt to conceal their intentions. Indeed, on one occasion two of them, when summoned before the Council at Annapolis, boasted that they were there "on the business of the king of France."

By the treaty of Utrecht the Acadians were given one year within which to become British subjects, or leave the country. The year passed, and the majority had not complied with this condition. In 1720 the British governor undertook to force the people to take the oath of allegiance, but he failed because he lacked a force strong enough to enforce his proclamation. Probably, also, little consideration was shown for the feelings of the Acadians in the effort to induce them to give in their allegiance. Ten years later the same governor succeeded in bringing the Acadians to take the oath, on condition that they should not be called upon to take sides against the French or the Indians. They themselves agreed not to take up arms against the British.

99. French Influence in the West. — Meanwhile the rivalry of western traders became daily keener. The British of New York were forced, as we have seen, to trade through the Iroquois. The aim of the French was to keep all the Indians at peace, yet to prevent the western tribes from trading with the Iroquois. The

goods of the British traders, better and cheaper than those of the French, were a great attraction. True, the Indians liked the taste of French brandy better than that of English rum, but after all the latter was much cheaper and had a similar effect. Thus many were induced to trade at Albany instead of at Montreal.

D'Iberville at the mouth of the Mississippi, 1699

In 1699 Le Moyne D'Iberville, the hero of the sea-fight off Fort Nelson, realised the dream of the explorer La Salle by founding a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, in Louisiana. In the ambition of France Louisiana played a great part. The two colonies, the one on the Gulf of Mexico, the other on the St. Lawrence, were to be joined by a line of forts, making good the French claim to the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes. By this means the British colonies were to be hemmed in along the Atlantic, and so shut out from western expansion.

100. Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye. — In prosecuting the fur trade beyond Lake Superior, the French traders never forgot *La Mer de l'Ouest*, which they thought could not be far distant. Several attempts to find this "Western Sea" failed, owing to the hostility of the warlike Sioux. That the best route to the West lay, not through the country of the Sioux, but farther north through the land of the Assiniboines, was the belief of one Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye, the commander of a little post on Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior. The son of a lieutenant of the Carignan regiment, Pierre had served with honour in the War of the Spanish Succession, but,

La Mer de l'Ouest

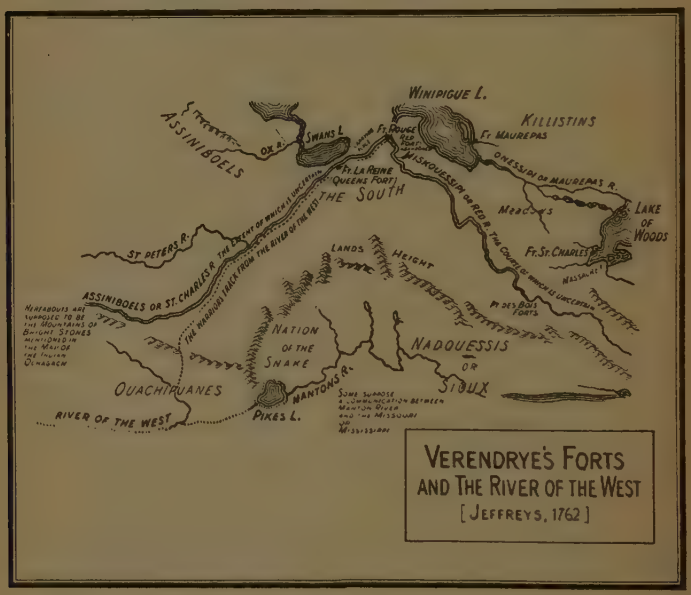
returning to Canada, had followed the example of many a spirited French Canadian youth and plunged into forest life and the fur trade. At Lake Nipigon Vérendrye had listened to Indian tales of a great river flowing into a western sea. Eager to solve the mystery of the unknown land, Vérendrye applied to the king of France for permission and aid to equip a party of exploration. Permission was readily given, but no aid other than the right to trade with the Indians by the way. The obstacles were great, — the dangers of a strange country swarming with hostile Indians, the labour of building forts in which to store supplies and furs, and the opposition of rival merchants. But great as were the obstacles, greater still was the courage of this valiant Frenchman.

The Vérendrye travels begun, 1731

Late in August, 1731, Vérendrye and his party, including his three sons, a nephew, and a Jesuit priest, reached *Le Grand Portage*, forty miles southwest of the Kaministiquia River, leading over the height of land to the waters flowing towards Lake Winnipeg. While the leader spent the winter here with part of his company, the remainder proceeded to Rainy Lake, where a fort was built. The following spring, the whole party pushed on westwards, descending to the mouth of the Maurepas (Winnipeg) River. At this point Vérendrye's explorations were checked for several years by the failure of funds and by other troubles which crowded upon the unfortunate explorer. The merchants who were to forward supplies failed to do so; his nephew died; and, as a climax to his misfortunes, twenty-one of his company, including

his eldest son, while on their way to Michilimackinac, were set upon and butchered by a band of the murderous Sioux. It was not until six years later that further progress was made towards the West.

The course of the Vérendrye travels was marked by a series of trading-posts built, at successive stages, on Rainy



Lake, on the Lake of the Woods, at the mouth of the Winnipeg, on the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, on the Assiniboine, on Lake Manitoba, and on the Saskatchewan. Among these rude trading-posts were Fort La Reine, near the site of the present town of Portage la Prairie, and Fort Rouge, whose name still clings to a suburb of the city of Winnipeg. The work, well begun

by the father, was ably carried on by his sons. Two of these, accompanied by two Canadians, ascended the Assiniboine, crossed over to the Missouri, and thence pushed westwards to the Rocky Mountains. The youngest son later ascended the Saskatchewan as far as the forks of the river. The ambition of the elder Vérendrye, to win his way through to the "Western Sea," was not realised, but yet his perseverance in the face of great difficulties had opened channels of trade running to the heart of the Great West.

Vérendrye's sons

Section 3. 1744–1748

King George's War

101. Upon the Eve of War. — It was inevitable that the commercial rivalry of the French and British colonists should lead to a renewal of war. Channels of trade had to be protected by forts, and the erection of forts implied a claim to territory. The issue was clear. Either the British were to be confined to the Atlantic seaboard or the French to the St. Lawrence valley. The British colonies, interested each in its own affairs, cared little about the land beyond the Alleghanies. If there was any movement towards the West, it was the natural result of growth. It was quite different with the French, who were eager to maintain their hold upon their western outposts.

Fully alive to the necessity of preparing for the coming struggle, the French began to strengthen their position by the erection of new forts. Once more

Niagara was occupied. The colonists of New York saw in this move a menace to their trade with the western tribes. Accordingly the governor, not to be outdone by his rivals, built a fort at Oswego, hoping that the Indians, attracted by the cheap goods of the British traders, would pass by Niagara and come to the new post. This was what happened. The French in turn made a move which gave them a great advantage. On Lake Champlain, the military highway between the two countries, where it narrows down to the width of a river, there was a spot called by the French Scalp Point, by the English Crown Point. Over this vantage-ground Massachusetts and New Hampshire were disputing, and "while they were quarrelling for the bone, the French ran away with it." At this outpost of their territory the latter erected a strong stone fort. A little later all the western posts were strengthened, especially Detroit, guarding the entrance to Lake Huron, and Michilimackinac, commanding the junction of Lake Huron with the lakes beyond.

Forts built and strengthened

Crown Point

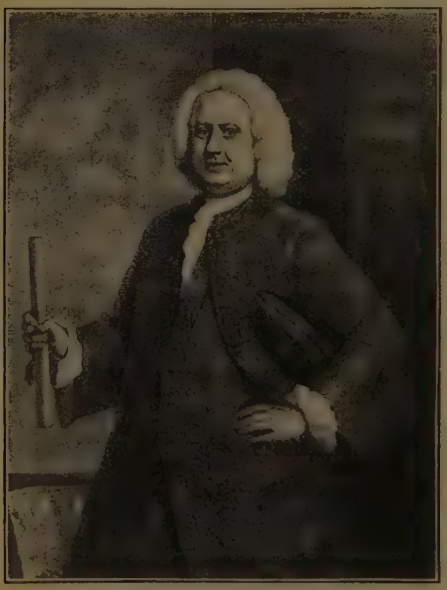
102. The Outbreak of War, 1744. — The situation was ripe for war, and only the pretext lacking. Now, as at the beginning of the century, a European war was the signal for a renewal of hostilities in America. The announcement of the War of the Austrian Succession was first made at Louisburg. The military governor at this point, acting before the news reached the British, seized and burnt to the ground the little fishing-station of Canseau, and then pressed on to capture Annapolis. Everything favoured

The burning of Canseau

the attempt: the weakness of the British garrison, and the support of the Acadians, who, while they would not venture to take part openly in the siege, yet supplied the besiegers with scaling-ladders. The attack, however, was a dismal failure, the arrival of two vessels from Boston discouraging the assailants, "Although," writes an inhabitant of Louisburg, "one might have bet everything on its success, so small was the force that the enemy had to resist us." Attack upon Annapolis

103. The New Englanders attack Louisburg. — The movements against Canseau and Annapolis angered the New Englanders, and drove them to an undertaking, in the very madness of which lay the best hope of its success. Louisburg, next to Quebec, was the strongest fortress on the North American continent, and a constant source of danger to the British fisheries. For a quarter of a century the French had been fortifying this American Dunkirk, sparing neither skill nor money. This apparently impregnable stronghold the New Englanders with their raw troops proposed to capture. The more prudent opposed the scheme, one, the famous Benjamin Franklin, remarking, "Fortified towns are hard nuts to crack, and your teeth are not accustomed to it; but some seem to think that forts are as easy taken as snuff." None the less the work of preparation went on. Great difficulty was found in choosing a leader. Finally the choice fell upon William Pepperell, merchant, a man "of good sense and good-will," whose best qualification was his popularity with the troops. On the 24th of March, 1745, William Pepperell

the expedition set sail, having, as was sarcastically said, "A merchant for a general, and farmers, fishermen, and mechanics for soldiers." Commodore Peter Warren joined the New Englanders with a small fleet of British ships-of-war.



Sir William Pepperell.

Warren was to blockade the entrance to the harbour, while Pepperell landed the troops somewhere in the rear of the town. The landing, made difficult, rather by the heavy surf which dashed the small boats upon the rocky shore than by the opposition of the French guard, was at last effected at Freshwater Cove, about four miles up the coast, but a still harder task faced the besiegers, that of dragging heavy cannon over two miles of marshy ground to the hills in the rear of the fortress. Despite their inexperience, the New Englanders displayed the greatest endurance and bravery in this work,

Hardships of the besiegers

continually exposed as they were to the fire of the town batteries. Such were the ravages of disease, brought on by overwork and exposure, that

at one time only twenty-one hundred out of four thousand were fit for duty. At last four batteries were planted behind the town, and an effective fire begun.

Meanwhile Warren was lying outside the harbour idle, save for the capture of the *Vigilant*, a French ship-of-war carrying a strong reinforcement and a rich store of supplies to the besieged fortress. The loss of the *Vigi-*

SIEGE OF LOUISBURG, 1745.

A, Freshwater Cove, the Landing Place of the New Englanders; *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, the Besiegers' Camp; *G*, *H*, *I*, *J*, *K*, the Batteries in the Rear of the Town; *L*, Lighthouse Point Battery; *M*, the Island Battery.

lant had a most discouraging effect upon the garrison. Pepperell and Warren now held a consultation, and decided that a combined attack should be made, the fleet sailing into the harbour to bombard the town in front, while the army advanced from the rear. Before Warren could enter the harbour, the Island battery had to be silenced. This was done by planting a battery on Lighthouse Point, from which vantage-ground

the Island was soon made untenable. All was now ready for the general attack, when suddenly the French commander, influenced by the citizens who dreaded the outcome of the threatened assault, offered to surrender. The "hard nut" had been "cracked," and that too by "farmers, fishermen, and mechanics," led by a "merchant."

Louisburg taken, 1745

104. The French lose Two Fleets. — The French, enraged at the capture of their great stronghold by the despised New Englanders, sent out a fleet of sixty-six sail under the command of the Duc D'Anville to recover Louisburg. Disaster followed in the wake of this squadron. The loss of several ships in a gale and the sudden death of the admiral removed all hope of success. It was but a shattered remnant of a proud fleet that sailed back to France. In the following year a second fleet, on its way to conquer Acadia, was met by a British squadron and completely defeated.

105. French Designs upon Acadia. — The recovery of Louisburg, upon which the French had wasted two fleets, was to have been followed by a descent upon Acadia. A force of several hundred Canadians under M. de Ramesay had been sent overland from Quebec to aid in an attack upon Annapolis. Upon hearing of the wreck of D'Anville's fleet, Ramesay fell back and took up his position at Chignecto. Yet the French did not give up their scheme of conquest, but through their agents continued to influence the Acadians either by persuasion or threats. The most zealous of these agents was Le Loutre, who did not shrink from making use of his Micmac allies to

Le Loutre

terrify the unfortunate people into fidelity to France. The Acadians, or "Neutral French" as they were called, were in a sad plight. So uneducated that very few could sign their names, knowing nothing of books, cut off from the rest of the world, these simple people were utterly unfit to face the difficulties of their position. Since the treaty of Utrecht the population had increased from two to twelve thousand. Seeing that Britain was represented in Acadia by the weak garrison of Annapolis, it is little wonder that the French had good hope of recovering the country by provoking a revolt of the native population.

If Britain was disposed to neglect her new possession, there was one man at least, Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, who ever kept his eye upon Acadian affairs. More than once did he save Annapolis from falling into the hands of the French. Alarmed by the movements of Ramesay and his Canadians, Shirley despatched Colonel Arthur Noble with a force of five hundred men to repel the invaders. Finding upon his arrival that the Canadians had withdrawn again to Chignecto, Noble decided to winter in the village of Grand Pré. Ramesay, thinking to find his enemy off his guard, now resolved upon the daring plan of making a rapid march and a sudden attack upon the British winter-quarters. From friendly Acadians in the neighbourhood he learned that the English troops were scattered throughout the various houses of the settlement. Undaunted by the news that the enemy numbered five hundred, the gallant Canadian remarked, "The more there are,

Ramesay surprises Noble at Grand Pré

the more we shall kill." The surprise was complete, and after a stubborn fight in which many of the defenders, including Noble, were killed, the British surrendered. If the Acadians rejoiced at the misfortune of the British, their joy was short-lived, for Shirley at once sent a fresh force to re-occupy the village.

106. French and British Dealings with the Iroquois. — And now to turn to the western frontier. Here the balance of power rested with the Iroquois, who, although now nominally British subjects, were yet disposed to avoid a rupture with the French. Both nations were striving to win the friendship of these powerful tribes. British influence in this quarter had been greatly weakened by the failure of two recent expeditions against Montreal, and by the abandonment of an outpost guarding the way to Albany. At this critical juncture there appeared among the Mohawks a young Irishman named William Johnson, whose popularity with the natives rendered him an invaluable agent of the British. Johnson, in charge of an estate upon the Hudson, quickly became a great favourite with the Mohawks, joining them in their games and dances, imitating their dress and manners, they in turn adopting him into their tribe and making him a war-chief.

William Johnson

107. Border Warfare. — Meanwhile the French and their allies were inflicting upon the British borders all the tortures of Indian warfare. Within the space of four months, we are told, as many as thirty-five war parties made descents upon the enemy's territory, falling upon lone travellers,

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748

killing unprotected women and unarmed labourers. For two years longer the war dragged on, until, in July, 1748, there arrived the welcome news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Both sides were to give up all conquests. Thus Louisburg, to the great disgust of the New Englanders, was restored to France.

Section 4. 1748–1754

"A mere truce"

108. Rival Claims of France and Britain. — That the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was "a mere truce," was certainly true as far as America was concerned. In the short period during which the truce continued, there was scarcely a year that did not witness acts of hostility on the part of both French and British. Nor was this unnatural, seeing that the late war had settled none of the differences which had caused it. The claims of France and Great Britain were equally absurd. France in short claimed the territory drained by the streams flowing into the St. Lawrence, the Great

A Mohawk Chief.

Lakes, and the Mississippi, leaving only the Atlantic seaboard to Great Britain. Great Britain, on the other hand, laid claim to the land of the Five Nations, their subjects, and to all the territory conquered at any time by these tribes, a contention which would narrow down the French possessions to Quebec. So irreconcilable were these claims that their settlement by any means other than the sword was impossible.

109. The Acadian Situation. — When war broke out in 1745, some of the Acadians remained neutral, others aided the French. When at the close of the war Louisburg was restored to France, the British saw the necessity of strengthening their hold upon Acadia. Chebucto harbour was chosen as the site of a new fortified town, now the city of Halifax. The founding of Halifax caused the French to redouble their efforts to keep a hold upon the Acadians. The latter they now urged to remove to the neighbouring French colonies. The agent of this intrigue was Le Loutre, who, by threatening to deprive the people of their priests and to stir up the Indians against them, succeeded in inducing about two thousand to move to Ile St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) and to Ile Royale (Cape Breton). The position of the British was still further strengthened by the building of a fort at Beaubassin, a step taken in spite of the threats of the Micmacs. Upon a low ridge beyond the river Missaquash, within sight of the British fort, the French erected Fort Beauséjour. From this point, as well as from Louisburg, they hoped to retain their control over the Acadians.

Halifax founded, 1749

Fort Beaubassin

Fort Beauséjour

110. The Ohio Valley. — The governor of Canada at this time was the Marquis de la Galissonière, a hump-back, who in spite of his physical deformity was a keen statesman and an energetic supporter of the boldest claims put forth by France in America. He was eager to strengthen his hold upon the great water-ways which connected Canada with Louisiana. Already English traders had crossed the Alleghanies, and by winning over the Indians were ruining the trade of the French. It was reported that over three hundred of these intruders with their trains of pack-horses had crossed the mountains into the valley of the Ohio. Alarmed at this encroachment, Galissonière sent a small force of regulars and Indians, under Céloron de Bienville, to restore French influence in the Ohio region. The French king was formally proclaimed lord of the country, the arms of France were nailed to a tree, and a lead plate was buried "as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the river Ohio." Several more plates were buried, the Indians

THE OHIO VALLEY.

French claim renewed

restored to their old alliance, the British traders warned off French territory, and then the expedition began its return to Montreal. That the French had cause for anxiety may be gathered from the report of Bienville: "All I can say is, that the nations of these countries are very ill-disposed toward the French, and devoted entirely to the English." Evidently both sides saw that the Ohio Valley was to be the scene of the struggle for the mastery of the West.

The outposts which guarded French interests in the West were Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and Ste. Marie. Of these the most important was Niagara, controlling, as it did, both the route to the upper lakes and that to the Ohio. To take this point of vantage would be to cut off the West from Canada. Upon the Ohio the British traders were doing all in their power to seduce the Indians from their friendship with the French, and their efforts were meeting with no little success. The French cause in this quarter was suffering greatly, if we may believe the report of the commander of one of the western forts. "If the English stay in this country," he writes, "we are lost. We must attack and drive them out." Upon this advice Galissonière's successor, the Marquis Duquesne, decided to act. A force of fifteen hundred men was sent to the Ohio, "to cause all the English to quit those parts," and at the same time to overawe the unfaithful Indians by a display of military power. Nothing more than a display of force was necessary to revive the loyalty of the Indians. Two small forts, Le Bœuf and Presqu'île,

Governor Duquesne occupies the Ohio Valley

were built to guard the route from Lake Erie to the Ohio.

Meanwhile the British were not idle. Scarcely had Le Bœuf been erected, when, one December evening, there rode out of the forest before the fort a young officer of the Virginia militia, Major Washington, bearing a letter from the governor of his state, warning the French to keep off British territory. Thus did agents, both of Canada and of the British colonies, take formal possession of the West. It remained to be seen which side would be the first to enter into the disputed territory with a force strong enough to hold it. Early in the spring of the following year a small band of Englishmen reached the junction of the Ohio, where now stands the smoke-begrimed city of Pittsburg, and there proceeded to erect a fort. The work had scarcely been begun when the workmen were interrupted by the sudden appearance of a fleet of canoes, manned by Frenchmen, which came sweeping down the Alleghany. As the newcomers had cannon, resistance would have been madness. The British force promptly withdrew, leaving their rivals in possession of the key to the Ohio Valley. This encounter, although bloodless, practically marked the beginning of war, as far, at least, as America was concerned.

French and British meet upon the site of Pittsburg

Nor was it long before blood was shed. Major Washington, while in command of a detachment engaged in cutting a wagon track in the direction of Fort Duquesne, as the French called their new stronghold, came suddenly upon a scouting party

of the enemy. Firing was begun by the British, and the French force, being outnumbered, was forced to surrender. "This obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire." Learning of the approach of a larger force of French and Indians, Washington fell back and entrenched himself at a point fittingly called Fort Necessity. Here took place a stubborn fight lasting nine hours, the combatants fighting, the greater part of the time, in a downpour of rain. Washington, whose men were now outnumbered two to one, consented to surrender on condition that he be allowed to march out with all the honours of war. Thus the western campaign of 1754 closed in disaster to the British cause. The loss of Fort Necessity left the country beyond the mountains in the hands of the French, who by their success had completely recovered the good-will and support of the Indian tribes.

The first shot

CHAPTER XI

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE

SECTION I. 1755

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755

111. Lack of Unity in the British Colonies. — That the French were allowed the advantage of pre-occupying the Ohio, is explained by the slowness of the British colonies. Although the New England States had had bitter experience of the barbarities of the French and their bloodthirsty allies, the southern colonies could not be brought to realise that a great struggle was impending, and that their enemy was seizing the vantage-ground. The colonial assemblies, jealous of one another and hostile towards their governors, could not be brought to united effort against a common foe. The head of the British government, the Duke of Newcastle, who might have influenced the colonies to form at least a temporary union, was both incapable and ignorant of American affairs. Urged upon one occasion to fortify Annapolis, he replied, "Oh yes, Annapolis should be defended, to be sure, Annapolis must be defended — where is Annapolis?" Upon another occasion he informed an officer that in the late war thirty thousand French had *marched* from Acadia to Cape Breton, and was confounded upon hearing that the latter was an island.

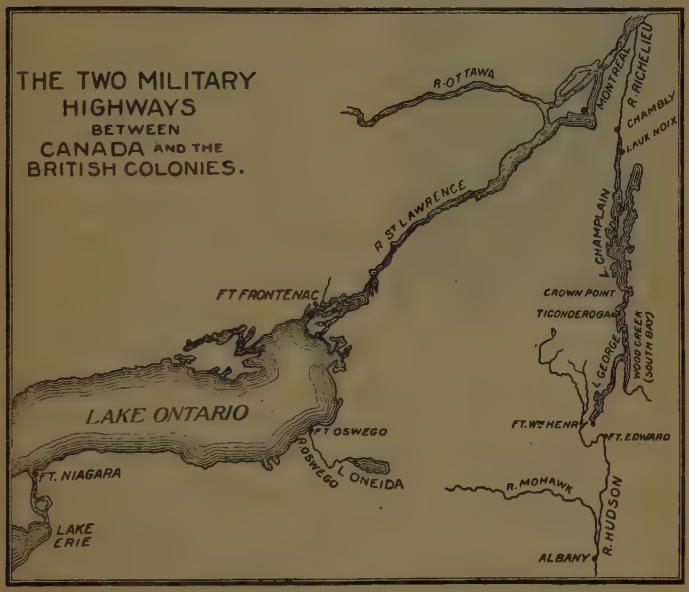
112. French and British Colonies Compared. — Although there had been no formal declaration of war by France or Britain, between their colonies in America the gage of battle had been thrown down. It is interesting to estimate the resources of the two parties in the coming conflict. The British colonies contained a population of over a million; the French, including Acadia, only eighty thousand. This great difference in population is explained in part by the colonial policies of Britain and France. In the British colonies all were welcome, and many who in the old land had been persecuted for their political and religious beliefs found an open door in the new. The French, on the other hand, exercised the strictest control over emigration, and thus deprived Canada of thousands who would have been glad to settle in the country.

Population

At the first glance it would seem that victory must inevitably have rested with the British colonies, since they outnumbered their enemy twelve to one. Many circumstances, however, tended to make the rival powers very evenly matched. In the first place, the French colony was united and completely controlled by those in authority, while the British colonies were divided, and were not, even as individual states, ready to follow the lead of their governors. Again, the French Canadians were trained to war, either by service in the army or by experience of the fur-trading and bush-fighting, while the British colonists were farmers or tradesmen, who fought only when forced to defend their borders. In

The advantages of the French

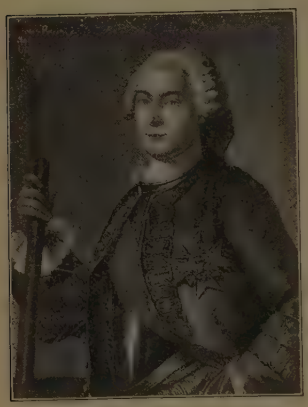
Canada, moreover, the governor or the commander-in-chief, when once war broke out, was given a free hand, while the leaders of the English troops were continually hampered by the interference of the colonial assemblies. Finally, the situation of Canada was very favourable,



especially for a war of defence, access thereto being possible only by a few routes, and these of great difficulty. The St. Lawrence was filled with hidden dangers to the unskilled navigator; Lakes George and Champlain and the Richelieu River were blocked with French forts and guarded by Indians friendly to Canada; the Mohawk River and Lake Oneida presented a laborious route to Lake Ontario, while the Ohio

could be reached only by hewing a road through miles of unbroken forests.

113. Preparations for War. — Upon the eve of the struggle which was destined to put an end to their long-standing jealousies, Britain and France possessed vastly different resources. The British navy contained over two hundred ships of war, the French about half that number. France, on the other hand, had an army of one hundred and eighty thousand, Britain only a tenth of that force. Each nation realised that supremacy in America was vital to its welfare, and each was now prepared to send more aid to its colonists than had been sent in previous wars. At almost the same time, General Braddock with his two regiments of regulars sailed for New York, and Baron Dieskau with three thousand French troops for Quebec. With the latter force came the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was to succeed Duquesne as governor.



THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

Braddock

Dieskau

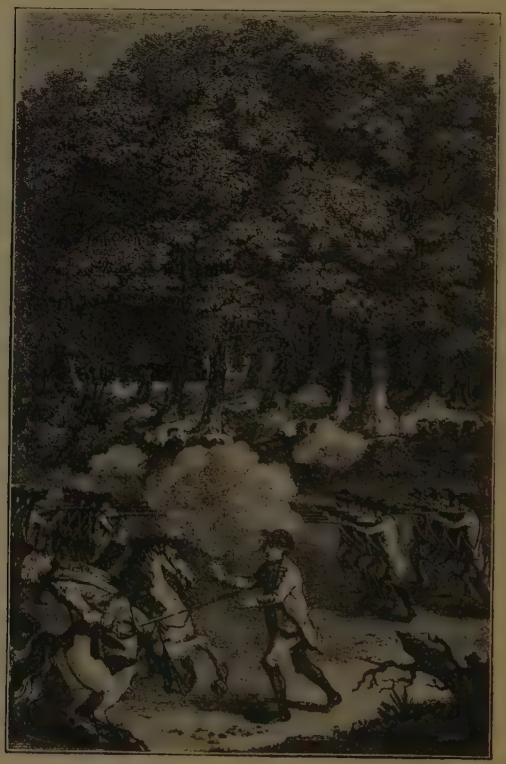
114. Braddock's March upon Fort Duquesne. — Without delay the British plan of campaign was outlined. The French were to be attacked at four points, Duquesne, Niagara, Crown Point, and Beauséjour. Of the expedition against Fort Duquesne, Braddock took com-

mand in person. The difficulty of obtaining supplies of food and forage, and also the horses and wagons necessary for transportation, caused such a delay that it was the middle of May before the whole force was ready for the march. Three hundred axemen took the lead, hewing out a way wide enough for the wagons and cannon. "The road was but twelve feet wide, and the line of march often extended four miles. It was like a thin, long, party-coloured snake, red, blue, and brown, trailing slowly through the depth of leaves, creeping round inaccessible heights, crawling over ridges, moving always in dampness and shadow, by rivulets and waterfalls, crags and chasms, gorges and shaggy steeps." Sickness among the men, weakness of horses, and the natural roughness of a newly made road so hampered the march that the army made little more than three miles a day.

At last, early in July, the army reached a point about eight miles distant from Fort Duquesne. The French commander, on learning of the enemy's approach, decided not to await an assault, but to march out and lay an ambuscade for the invaders. Braddock's main body was just entering a thickly wooded ravine when it was met with a shower of bullets from a force of nine hundred French Canadians and Indians, who lay completely hidden in the surrounding woods. The British regulars stood firm and returned the fire, while the Indians began to close in upon both flanks, still keeping to the cover. The destruction of the British was inevitable; for, refusing to take shelter as the enemy did, they stood in

The ambuscade

a huddled mass firing vainly upon a foe that was ever invisible. The defeat was crushing, the vanquished sustaining a loss of sixty-three officers and nine hun-



THE DEATH OF BRADDOCK.

dred men killed and wounded. However ignorant Braddock was of Indian methods of warfare, he was not lacking in bravery. During the fight he rode everywhere trying to rally his men. He had four horses shot under him, and mounted a fifth

only to receive a bullet through the lungs. The invaders had no choice but to fall back, and the retreat, begun in good form, soon became a disorderly flight, cannon and supplies being abandoned in the general eagerness to reach a place of safety. Braddock has been criticised for his failure, by some too severely. One who knew him has said: "This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a good figure in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence; too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops; too mean a one of both Americans and Indians." Braddock criticised

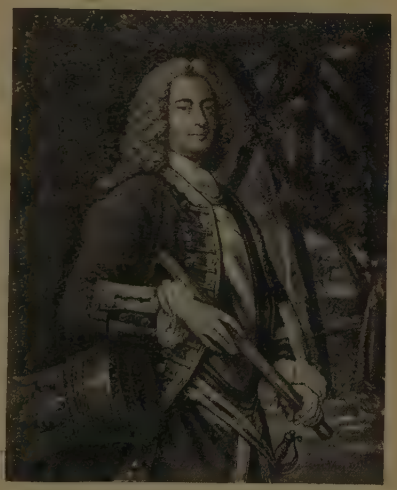
115. The New Englanders capture Beauséjour. — Meanwhile on the scene of the eastern conflict important events were happening. Fort Beauséjour was the strongest post in Acadia, and therefore a standing menace to British authority in the peninsula. This place the New Englanders resolved to capture. Although the fort was naturally a strong one, the commander, one Vergor, a man of doubtful character and courage, offered but a feeble resistance. A chance shell, dropping among a party of officers seated at breakfast and killing six of them, quickened the cowardly commander's impulse to raise the white flag. Several smaller French forts on the Bay of Fundy followed the example of their more powerful neighbour, and all Acadia was now in British hands. Fort Beauséjour was renamed Fort Cumberland.

116. The Removal of the Acadians. — Immediately after the fall of Beauséjour the British authorities, feeling that for many years the Acadians, while nominally

subject to Great Britain, had in reality been in sympathy with the cause of France, and had in some cases aided the French in war, resolved to deal sternly with such dangerous subjects. It was decided to require of them an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British sovereign, or, in the case of their refusal, to remove them from the country. Practically all declined to take the oath; whereupon orders were issued to the various commanders to proceed with the work of deportation. At Grand Pré and other centres proclamations were read, calling upon all the men and boys to assemble upon a fixed date to hear the instructions from the British government. These were to the effect "that their lands and tenements and cattle and livestock of all kinds were forfeited to the crown, with all their other effects, except money and household goods, and that they themselves were to be removed from the province." After some delay, occasioned by the difficulty of securing the necessary ships, the unfortunate Acadians were placed on board, care being taken to keep families together, and even members of the same village. The total number of exiles, men, women, and children, was about six thousand. The majority were carried to the British colonies, being scattered here and there from Massachusetts to Georgia.

117. Johnson defeats Dieskau. — The third move in the campaign of 1755 was directed against Crown Point, the stronghold from which the French had for many years threatened the New England colonies. William Johnson was chosen to lead this expedition, because of his influence over the Five Nations. No

sooner had he gathered his three thousand provincials than he was joined by a swarm of Mohawk warriors. From Fort Edward, the place of mustering, the whole force moved up to the lower end of Lake George, where before the close of the season Fort William Henry was constructed. The French meanwhile had been warned of the enemy's plans by letters found upon the scene of Braddock's defeat, and Baron Dieskau had reached Crown Point with a force of three thousand five hundred men. The Baron, too impatient to await an attack, began to advance against Johnson's force on Lake George. In the battle which followed, the French, though at first victorious, were finally beaten and put to flight, and Dieskau himself was captured. The Baron, whose rashness had arisen from his contempt of the British provincial troops, after the battle remarked that in the morning they fought like good boys, about noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils. Johnson made no use of his victory, although a prompt movement in the direction of the enemy's canoes and provisions on South Bay would have placed the whole retreating force



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Johnson's inaction

at his mercy. In spite of this victory the expedition was a failure, for the remainder of the season was spent at Lake George, no effort being made to advance against Crown Point. Johnson, none the less, was made a baronet by the king, and granted £5000.

118. Shirley fails to reach Niagara. — The fourth and last movement of the year was that against Niagara, entrusted to the command of Major-General Shirley. The Mohawk River and Lake Oneida, with the intervening *portage*, afforded a route to the stream flowing into Lake Ontario at Oswego. Here the news of Braddock's defeat so discouraged Shirley's men that many deserted. The position of the invading party was critical. Across the lake, only fifty miles away, lay Fort Frontenac, strongly garrisoned and guarded by several vessels, while Niagara was distant four or five days' journey. Shirley's force was not large enough to divide. If he advanced in full strength against Niagara, a detachment from Fort Frontenac could easily capture Oswego and so cut him off from his return route. The risk was too great; it was decided to reinforce Oswego and return to Albany.

119. Summary of the Campaign. — Thus closed the campaign of 1755, none too brilliant on either side. The British had met defeat on the Monongahela and failure in their attempt upon Niagara; but had won a victory — fruitless though it was — at Lake George and had completed the conquest of Acadia. The French, on the other hand, had gained a victory through their Indian allies and retained Duquesne, Niagara, and

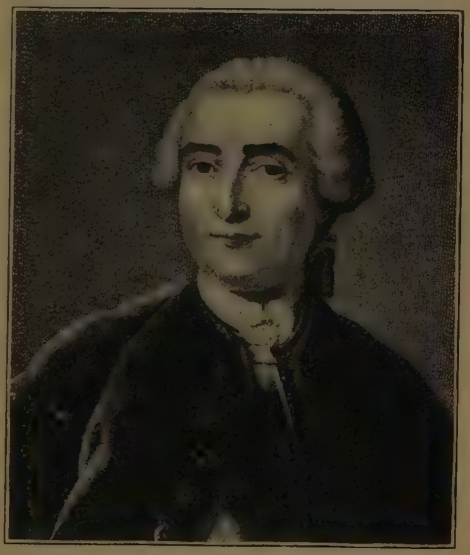
Crown Point, but had suffered defeat at the hands of the New England troops and had lost Acadia forever.

Section 2. 1756–1757

The Campaigns of 1756 and 1757

120. The Marquis de Montcalm. — It was not until the spring of 1756, after a year of hostilities in America and on the sea, that Britain and France formally declared war. France was now in need of a leader to succeed Dieskau in command of her colonial troops. The man selected was the Marquis de Montcalm. The character of the new commander may well be described in the words in which he himself as a boy used to express his ideal of manhood, namely, "to be an honourable man, of good morals, brave, and a Christian." Montcalm entered the army at the age of fifteen, so that at the time of his appointment to command in Canada

Declaration of war



Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm.

he had seen thirty years of service. With the commander-in-chief came the Chevalier de Lévis as second in command.

The meeting of Montcalm and Vaudreuil, the governor, was far from friendly. The latter, jealous of power, had hoped to command the French forces in person. Moreover, being a Canadian by birth, he did not get on well with the officers who came out from France. Montcalm, on the other hand, although of a more frank and generous disposition, was often impulsive in his dealings with the governor. The latter was his superior in office, but vastly his inferior in military capacity.

Montcalm and Vaudreuil

Meanwhile the French, alarmed by exaggerated reports of the British plans for the coming campaign, were putting forth every effort to strengthen their defences. Ticonderoga, a point controlling the junction of Lakes Champlain and George, was fortified, Niagara was rebuilt, and Frontenac strengthened. At last came the report that ten thousand British were advancing upon Ticonderoga; whereupon Montcalm and Lévis hastened to the threatened point. It turned out, however, that Ticonderoga was not in imminent danger.

French preparations

121. The Campaign of 1756. — The year 1756 was one of failure and disaster for the British, due mainly to the incapacity of their leaders and to frequent changes in command. Shirley, who was in charge of affairs at the opening of the season, had planned a two-fold attack upon Niagara and Ticonderoga, when, without warning, he was recalled from command. His place was taken by General James

Cause of British failure

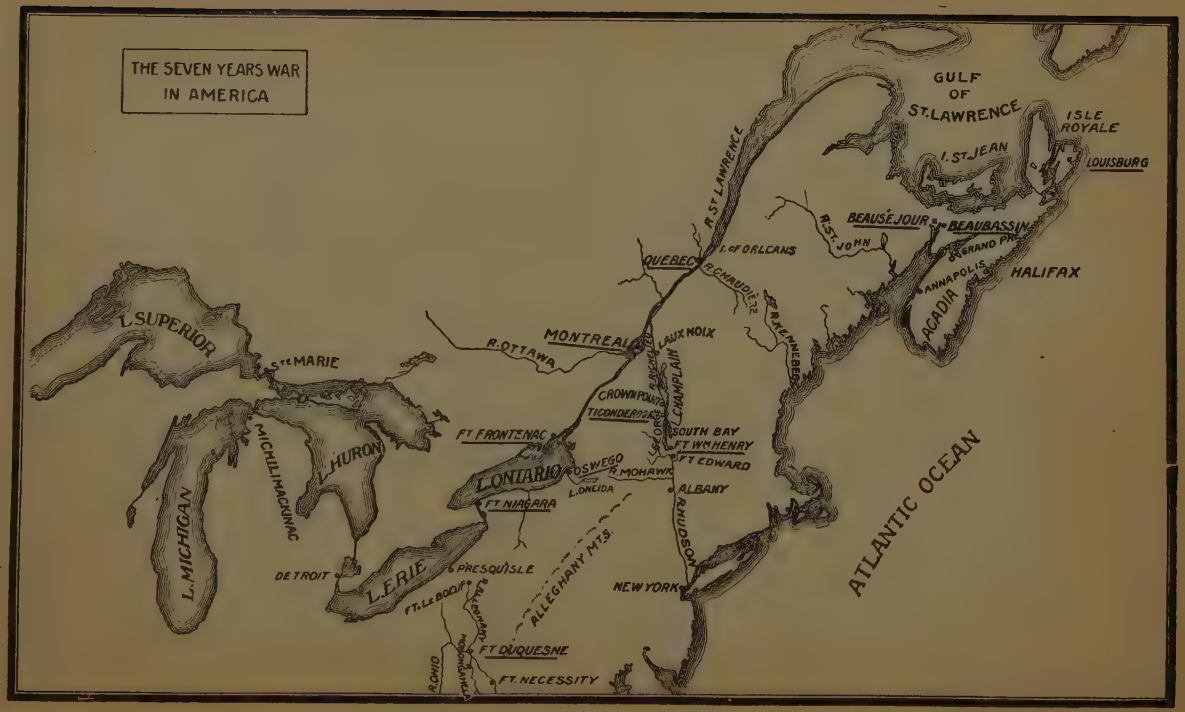
Abercrombie, who was in turn superseded by the Earl of Loudon. The latter at once abandoned the Niagara project, and directed his whole force against Ticonderoga. Vaudreuil and Montcalm, alarmed at the strength of the army pitted against them and thinking to draw off a part of it, made a sudden move against Oswego. The garrison at this point, weakened by famine, was in no condition to withstand a siege, and the fort soon fell into the hands of the assailants. Fort, vessels, and stores were all destroyed. This easy victory was one of great importance, as it gave to the French complete control of Lake Ontario, and thus maintained in safety their communication with the West.

Montcalm takes Oswego

Meanwhile Loudon held ten thousand men stationed between Albany and Fort William Henry, while Montcalm faced him at Ticonderoga with about five thousand. The season closed without a movement being made by either leader. During the following winter both sides sent out scouting parties, some of which performed feats of great daring. Frequently bands of Canadians and Indians, approaching by South Bay, cut off supply trains passing between Fort Edward and the lake. In retaliation small forces of New England rangers, led usually by a hardy bushman named Rogers, stole past Ticonderoga and even Crown Point, capturing supplies on the way to these outposts.

Scouting

122. The Campaign of 1757. — With the opening of spring Montcalm's preparations for the season's campaign began. The capture of Oswego had won over the Indian tribes, all except the Mohawks, who were


THE SEVEN YEARS WAR IN AMERICA
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
ISLE ROYALE
I. ST. JEAN
LOUISBURG
R. ST. LAWRENCE
BEAUSÉJOUR
BEAUBASSIN
R. ST. JOHN
GRAND PR
ANNAPOLIS
HALIFAX
ACADIA
QUEBEC
I. OF ORLEANS
R. CHAUDIÈRE
R. KENNEBEC
L. SUPERIOR
STE MARIE
MONTREAL
R. OTTAWA
LAUX NOIX
L. CHAMPLAIN
CROWN POINT
TICONDEROGA
FT FRONTENAC
SOUTH BAY
FT WM HENRY
FT EDWARD
L. HURON
MICHILLIMACKINAC
L. ONTARIO
OSWEGO
R. MOHAWK
L. ONEIDA
ALBANY
FT NIAGARA
L. MICHIGAN
DETROIT
L. ERIE
PRESQU'ISLE
HUDSON
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FT LE BOEUF
ALLEGHANY MTS
NEW YORK
FT DUQUESNE
OHIO
FT NECESSITY

still kept faithful to the British by Johnson's influence. Montcalm's forces were strengthened by a reinforcement of over two thousand regulars from France. To disturb the hopeful outlook came the startling news that a British fleet was about to set sail for America. Was it bound for Louisburg or Quebec? The former proved to be the object of attack. Loudon at once withdrew most of his troops from Lake George to coöperate with the new movement. At this juncture the British commander displayed untiring energy, but accomplished nothing. One officer remarked of him that he was like the picture of St. George on a tavern sign, always on horseback, but never riding on. The Louisburg expedition was ruined by the slowness of the fleet, which afforded the French time to strengthen the squadron guarding the entrance to the harbour.

Loudon's mistake

Meanwhile Loudon's withdrawal of the best of his troops from Lake George gave to the French a favourable opportunity of attacking Fort William Henry. When Montcalm planted his cannon before the enemy's stronghold, he had eight thousand men, including two thousand Indians representing no less than forty-one tribes, — a motley throng in which gentlemen of the French court fought side by side with the savage denizens of the western forests. The fall of the fort was inevitable, as the result of Loudon's blunder, yet the record of three hundred killed tells of the stubborn stand made by the plucky garrison. It was agreed that the British troops should be sent under guard to Fort Edward, but no sooner

Montcalm takes Fort William Henry

had they passed out of the gates than the Indian allies of the French fell upon them and killed or carried off about six hundred. Through the untiring efforts of Montcalm over four hundred of these were recovered.

123. Corruption at Quebec. — While New France was being faithfully served by Montcalm and his men on the field of battle, her strength was being sapped by the roguery of dishonest officials at the capital. Quebec was, and had been for years, filled with corruption. At the head of its corrupt citizens stood the intendant Bigot. Bigot is represented as an ugly man, yet possessed of an agreeable manner; of poor health, yet energetic both in business and pleasure. That he strove to gain popularity may be judged from the fact that even in time of war he daily entertained at dinner in the intendant's palace as many as twenty guests. All were made welcome to his huge dancing-hall. Gambling was the common feature of his entertainment, the host himself playing for enormous stakes. Bigot, at the head of a gang of men as unscrupulous as himself, — worst among them one Joseph Cadet, the son of a Quebec butcher, who had risen to the position of commissary-general, — was guilty of all manner of frauds, perpetrated alike upon the king and upon the people. Furs, which he was ordered to sell by auction to the highest bidder, he sold to his friends at a low figure, and they in turn disposed of them to their own profit. Boats for the transportation of troops were hired to the king at enormous prices. To what an extent this corruption proceeded may be judged from

Bigot

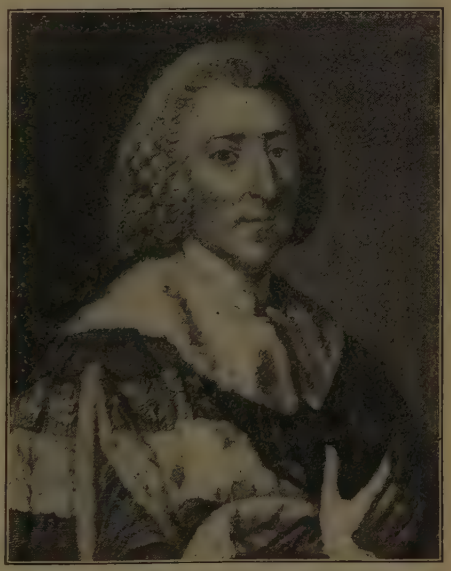
Cadet

the fact that some years later these unscrupulous rogues, when brought to trial, gave up seven million francs, the proceeds of their dishonesty.

Section 3. 1758

The campaign of 1758

124. William Pitt. — A movement upon Louisburg, rendered ineffectual by the slowness of the British government, and the destruction of Fort William Henry owing to the blundering of Loudon, had been the record of the British in 1757. The outlook for the coming season was gloomy indeed; but through the prevailing gloom there shot one gleam of sunshine. A change had taken place in the British government; control of the war had passed from the corrupt and incompetent Newcastle to the upright and capable Pitt. The latter had a free hand in the appointment of generals and admirals. The



William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

new minister had no lack of self-confidence. "I am sure," he said, "that I can save this country and that nobody else can." And save it he did. Not only did he choose strong leaders in the place of weak, but he put heart into many who had failed under Newcastle's direction. "Nobody," it was said, "ever entered his closet who did not come out of it a braver man." It was the aim of this resolute statesman not only to check but to crush the power of France, and in the accomplishment of this object he turned his attention especially to the war in America.

Pitt's new leaders

The campaign of 1758 aimed at the capture of three places, Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Duquesne. While this plan of campaign did not differ from that of the previous years, there was a radical change in the leadership. With Pitt military genius, not social station, carried weight. Loudon was at once recalled, and although Abercrombie was allowed to succeed him, it was only because his staff included Brigadier Lord Howe, who, it was hoped, would make up for any weakness on the part of the commander-in-chief. To conduct the Louisburg expedition Pitt chose Colonel Jeffrey Amherst, and to support him a staff of three brigadiers, one of them Colonel James Wolfe. Brigadier John Forbes was placed in command of the undertaking against the French stronghold on the Ohio. Pitt had already given to the British army a new kind of troops, the Scottish Highlanders, and two regiments of these were now sent out to America.

125. Amherst takes Louisburg. — Louisburg, which had been greatly strengthened since its restoration to

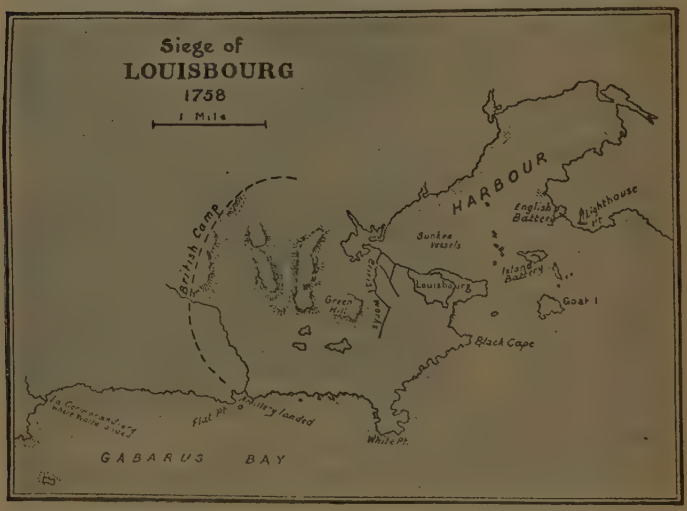
the French in 1748, was now garrisoned by three thousand regular troops, while in the harbour rode a fleet of twelve ships, manned by nearly three thousand men. The strongest defence of the place was the rocky shore, which afforded only three possible landing-places in the neighbourhood of the town. These points Amherst found strongly fortified. Without loss of time he divided his force and threatened all three places at once, the real attack being made at Freshwater Cove, which was farthest from the town. Here the defenders had stationed their strongest guard, which offered such a determined resistance that Wolfe, who was in command of the attacking party, at first despaired of success. Later, seeing a possible opening, the gallant young leader threw his entire force into it, and, carrying only his cane, was himself the first into the surf and up the steep face of the rocky shore. The landing was quickly won, and all the shore guards, now fearing an

General Amherst.

James Wolfe

attack in the rear, abandoned their positions and withdrew into the town.

The siege was mainly a repetition of that conducted by Pepperell thirteen years earlier. Cannon were dragged overland, and batteries set up in the rear of the town, while a detachment, circling the harbour, took possession of the battery on Lighthouse Point. From this vantage-



ground the Island battery was dismantled, and the harbour thus opened to the British fleet. To make matters worse for the besieged, a chance bomb falling upon one of their ships set it on fire, the flames spreading to two others. A bold dash of six hundred British seamen in small boats resulted in the capture of two of the remaining vessels, one of which was burned, the other towed under the guns of the Lighthouse Point battery. The position of the gar-

The burning of the French ships

rison was now critical, for at any minute the British fleet might sail in and bombard the town from the harbour, while the batteries in the rear kept up the attack upon the land side. By the surrender which quickly followed, the fortress passed for the last time into the hands of the British. From Louisburg Amherst hastened to the support of Abercrombie at Lake George.

126. Abercrombie's Advance upon Ticonderoga. — Meanwhile, all was in readiness for the enterprise on Lake George. Abercrombie was stationed at Fort William Henry, with a force of fifteen thousand regulars and provincials, while Montcalm lay entrenched at Ticonderoga with about half that number. The real command of the British troops rested, as Pitt had intended it should, with Lord Howe, a young officer of great promise, who had gained considerable experience in bush-fighting, and who was also very popular with the troops. In Wolfe's words, he was "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British army." Howe and two hundred rangers were at the head of the army advancing through the dense forest towards the French fort, when suddenly they stumbled upon a small scouting party of the enemy. In the skirmish which followed Howe dropped, mortally wounded. The fall of this gallant young officer took the heart out of the whole army, only the steadiness of the rangers averting a panic.

Death of Lord Howe

The advance was continued. Montcalm, instead of awaiting an attack upon Ticonderoga, prepared to receive the invaders at a ridge half a mile from the fort,

THE BURNING OF THE FRENCH SHIPS IN LOUISBURG HARBOUR, 1758.

where a strong barricade had been constructed by felling trees with their tops facing outwards. What would Abercrombie do? He might force his way past this position and take its defenders upon the flanks or in the rear. He might bring up his artillery from Lake George and batter down the obstruction. He might set up a battery upon a neighbouring hill and from that elevation sweep the entrenchments with round shot. Yet none of these things did Abercrombie do. Instead of waiting for the cannon, he flung his men against the face of the barricade. Then ensued a frightful scene: "Masses of infuriated men who could not go forward and would not go back; straining for an enemy they could not see; caught in the entanglement of fallen trees; tripped by briers, stumbling over logs, tearing through boughs; shouting, yelling, cursing, and pelted all the while with bullets that killed them by scores, stretched them on the ground, or hung them on jagged branches in strange attitudes of death." Over nineteen hundred killed and wounded was the loss sustained by the British in this disastrous engagement. Although he still had thirteen thousand men, Abercrombie had no heart for an attack upon the fort. Thus was the largest army which the British had yet put into the field sacrificed by the blunders of its leader.

A fatal blunder

127. Capture of Fort Frontenac.— The gloom overhanging Abercrombie's camp was partly dispelled by the news of a British victory on Lake Ontario. A force of three thousand men had swooped down unexpectedly upon Fort Frontenac, captured the garrison, and

seized the entire French fleet of nine vessels carrying a supply of provisions for the western posts. The loss of Fort Frontenac was a heavy blow to the French, for with it was lost control of Lake Ontario. The western posts were now cut off from their base of supplies. The capture of the supplies intended for Fort Duquesne weakened that post in the hour of its extremity.

128. Forbes takes Fort Duquesne. — Meanwhile Brigadier Forbes, with an army of six thousand men, was slowly working his way towards Fort Duquesne. Unlike Braddock, who had pushed forward in one long march, he advanced by stages, building forts to guard his rear. When at length Fort Duquesne was reached, it was found that the garrison had destroyed the fort and retreated to Lake Erie. The failure of supplies resulting from the capture of Fort Frontenac had made it impossible to offer resistance. The possession of Fort Pitt, as the newly acquired post was renamed, in honour of the "Great Commoner," opened the West to the British and robbed the French of many of their Indian allies.

129. Summary of the Campaign. — The campaign of 1758 left France greatly weakened. In the east Louisburg had fallen, and in the west Fort Duquesne, while the loss of Fort Frontenac threatened the safety of the other western posts. Only at Ticonderoga had the invaders been repulsed. In addition, many of the Indian tribes, influenced by the successes of the British, had abandoned their old-time friendship for the French. It was clear that the struggle was nearing its crisis.

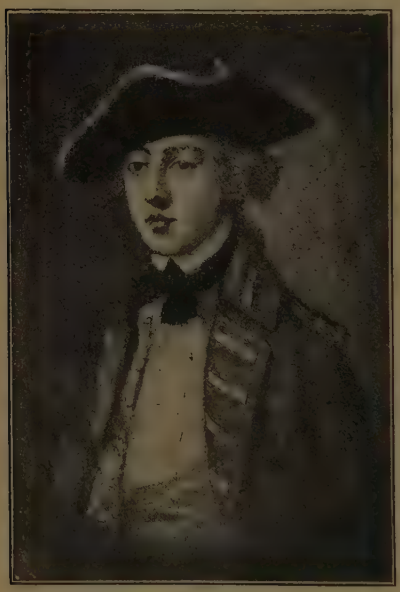
Section 4. 1759

The Campaign of 1759

130. Canada in Distress. — During the winter of 1758–59 the French began to realise that their hold upon America was slipping. Following upon the disasters of the previous campaign came the suffering caused by the failure of provisions. So fully had the people been occupied with the war that agriculture had been neglected and now a British fleet blocked the St. Lawrence, cutting off supplies from France. None the less Cadet and his fellow-robbers made gain out of the general distress. "What a country!" exclaims Montcalm. "Here all the knaves grow rich and the honest men are ruined." Nor was France, threatened by foes nearer home, in a position to lend aid. To an appeal from Canada for help came the reply of the colonial minister, "When the house is on fire, one cannot occupy one's self with the stable."

131. Wolfe. — The British plan of campaign for 1759 included three movements. Wolfe in command of the fleet was to storm Quebec, while Amherst attacked Ticonderoga, and Brigadier Prideaux, Niagara. The best hope of the nation lay in the youthful commander whom Pitt, with a fearless disregard of the claims of older but less capable officers, had picked out for promotion. Wolfe, who had already won distinction in the siege of Louisburg, had nothing of the appearance of a popular hero. A receding forehead

and chin, an upturned nose, and a rather weak mouth gave no evidence of strength of character; only through the piercing eye did the spirit within find expression.



General Wolfe.

But thirty-two when he assumed command against Quebec, Wolfe had already served in the army for seventeen years. Upon the fields of Dettingen and Culloden he had fought for his king, and at twenty-three he held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. "My utmost desire and ambition," he once said to his mother, "is to look steadily upon danger." And surely his ambition was attained, for never was he cooler than in the thick of battle. Pitt's appointment of so young a man did not meet with the approval of the Duke of Newcastle, who remarked to George II that the new general was mad. "Mad, is he?" replied the king; "then I hope he will bite some others of my generals."

132. Wolfe begins the Siege of Quebec.—The preparations of the French, which were begun early in the season, were entirely defensive. What they most feared

was an invasion by way of Lake Champlain. They therefore stationed a strong force at Ticonderoga, with instructions to hold out as long as possible, and then to fall back upon Crown Point, and, if necessary, as far as Ile aux Noix. Another detachment was posted at the head of the St. Lawrence to bar any advance from Lake Ontario. While the attention of all was fixed upon the

PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759.

Richelieu and the upper St. Lawrence, there came the startling news that a British fleet was about to attack Quebec. Immediately all available men were hurried to the capital, and the defences of that war-tried stronghold made ready for the threatened blow. When Wolfe sailed up the river past the Island of Orleans, there met his view a sight which might well have discouraged even a braver man than he. From the Montmorency to the St. Charles, a distance of eight

The city's defences

miles, the shore was lined with entrenchments, behind which lay fourteen thousand Frenchmen, together with their Indian allies. Within the city there was a garrison of two thousand men, and upon its walls were mounted a hundred cannon. Beyond the city the steepness of the river's banks made the heights above inaccessible, save in a few places, and these were carefully guarded. The best hope of taking Quebec lay in the success of Amherst; if he won his way to the St. Lawrence, the French would be forced to draw off part of their forces from the capital.

Landing most of his troops upon the Island of Orleans, Wolfe began operations by setting up on Point Lévis a battery whose fire swept the lower town, soon making it uninhabitable. His next move was to land a force of three thousand men below the Montmorency, with the object of attacking the enemy upon the flank and if possible in the rear. The French, however, were not to be surprised in this quarter, and the besiegers, although they had caused the besieged great annoyance, were no nearer capturing the city than when they arrived. "You will demolish the town, no doubt," read a message from within, "but you shall never get inside of it;" to this Wolfe replied, "I will have Quebec if I stay here till the end of November."

The Point Lévis battery

The Montmorency move

News that Niagara had been attacked and that Amherst was advancing against Ticonderoga had the effect of causing many of the Canadians to desert. The French on two occasions made a determined effort to destroy the British fleet by sending against it fire-ships and

burning rafts. Only the daring of the British seamen, who rowed out and towed the burning monsters ashore, saved the fleet from destruction. On the last day of July, Wolfe resolved upon the desperate plan of attacking the enemy in front, a little above the Falls of Montmorency. No sooner had his men landed than a downpour of rain made the banks so slippery that further advance was impossible. This futile attempt cost the besiegers four hundred and fifty men.

A frontal attack

133. The Failure of Amherst to join Wolfe. — While Wolfe was vainly striving to enter Quebec, the two western movements under Amherst and Prideaux were in progress. By the end of June Amherst reached the head of Lake George with eleven thousand men. As he advanced from this point the enemy gave way before him, abandoning Ticonderoga, and then Crown Point. At every stage valuable time was lost in rebuilding forts, and the close of the season found Amherst busily at work upon the fortifications of Crown Point. Although much useful building had been done, the expedition, as far as coöperation with Wolfe was concerned, was a complete failure.

134. Prideaux and Johnson take Niagara. — Meanwhile Prideaux was approaching the end of his journey. Garrisoned by a force of six hundred and well provided with supplies, Niagara offered a determined resistance, its defenders hoping to receive reinforcements from the west. Early in the siege Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a cochorn, and his place was taken by Sir William Johnson. What the new leader lacked in military

skill he made up for in energy, so that within two weeks he had the defenders exhausted. Besides investing the fort, Johnson succeeded in defeating a strong force advancing from the west to the relief of the French. All hope of reinforcement gone, the garrison surrendered. The fall of Niagara completed the isolation of Detroit, Michilimackinac, and the other western posts.

135. The Fall of Quebec. — The siege of Quebec had, meanwhile, entered upon a new phase. Part of the British fleet had gathered above Quebec, a move which led the French to send a force of fifteen hundred men from the Beauport camp to the heights beyond the city. Great was the discouragement of the besieged when news arrived of the fall of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara, but equally great their joy when it became known that Amherst was not, as they expected, advancing upon Montreal. The report of Amherst's failure cast a gloom over the British camp, which was deepened by the sudden illness of their leader. For five days Wolfe was dangerously ill, but at the end of that time he began to rally, "to the inconceivable joy of the whole army."

The British discouraged

As the season was drawing to a close, Wolfe now resolved as a last resource to attempt a landing by scaling the heights above the city. If successful at this point, he might cut off Montcalm from the base of his supplies. A new purpose in mind seemed to give him fresh strength of body. "I know perfectly well you cannot cure me," he said to his physician, "but pray make me up so that I may be without pain for a few days, and able to do my

Wolfe's last resource

duty; that is all I want." Drawing off the detachment from the Montmorency, he gathered a force of thirty-six hundred men on the fleet above the city, at the same time ordering twelve hundred at Point Lévis to be in readiness to join him. The place chosen for the intended landing was the *Anse du Foulon*, afterwards called Wolfe's Cove, about a mile and a half from the city. Under cover of a dark night a fleet of small boats drifted silently down the river, one of the foremost bearing the commander-in-chief, who amid the stillness of the night is said to have repeated softly Gray's "Elegy." Under the shadow of his approaching death no more fitting words could have fallen from the hero's lips than

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Landing upon the strand at the base of the heights, twenty-four volunteers led the way up the narrow path. The sound of musket-shots and loud huzzas told Wolfe that the heights had been scaled, and the guards overcome. Then the whole force went scrambling up the embankment, grasping trees and bushes. The morning light fell upon the British army drawn up in line of battle upon the Plains of Abraham. What seemed impossible had been accomplished, but Wolfe was still in a desperate position, having a French army in his rear, and Quebec and the Beauport forces in front. In victory lay the one hope of the British. Montcalm, upon learning what had happened, hurried out to attack the enemy. In irregular order the French advanced, shouting and firing as soon as they came within range.

A "path of glory"

The battle of the Plains of Abraham

The British stood still until the French were within forty paces, when at the word of command they fired a deadly volley into the advancing line. Then followed a general charge with bayonets and broadswords. Wolfe led until he fell shot through the breast. As he was being carried to the rear, he overheard one of his men cry, "They run; see how they run!" "Who run?" Wolfe demanded. "The enemy, sir. They give way everywhere!" Turning on his side, the dying man murmured, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!" The French too, lost their leader. That night within the walls of Quebec Montcalm lay mortally wounded. When told by the physician that he had

MONTCALM ENTERING QUEBEC AFTER THE BATTLE.

Montcalm is seated on horseback, supported by two soldiers.

Death of Wolfe

only twelve hours to live, he remarked: "So much the better. I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Death of Montcalm

There was still no reason for surrendering the city, but the death of Montcalm threw the command entirely into the hands of Vaudreuil, whose one thought seemed to be to seek a place of safety. Leaving the city in charge of Ramesay and a few hundred men, he began a disgraceful retreat towards Montreal. Lévis, who was hurrying up with reinforcements, urged him to turn back and try to prevent a surrender. This he did, but too late. Ramesay had surrendered, and the capital of New France had, for the second, and as it proved the last time, passed into British possession. The news of the victory filled Britain with joy, tinged, however, with sadness at the memory of the hero who had fallen in the hour of his triumph. The surrender of Quebec

Section 5. 1760

The Campaign of 1760

136. Attempt of the French to retake Quebec. — The French, now concentrated at Montreal and Ile aux Noix, had by no means given up hope of recovering Quebec. At the close of the season this hardly won fortress had been left in charge of General Murray commanding a force seven thousand strong, but disease had made such inroads upon the garrison that in the spring less than half its members were fit for duty. One night the watch on board a frigate lying at the dock of the Lower Town heard a cry of distress rising from the river. The

captain ordered out a boat, whose crew discovered a man lying half frozen upon a large piece of floating ice. From this unfortunate it was learned that a strong French force had left Montreal to attack Quebec. The report proved to be true, and Murray, with all the rashness of youth, ordered his men under arms and marched out to meet the enemy. In the battle of Sainte Foye which followed each side lost about a thousand men, the British being forced to retreat within the walls of the city. As the river cleared of ice, both French and English looked eagerly for help from beyond the sea. When at last a ship was sighted, every eye was strained to see the flag floating from her masthead. When the red cross of St. George slowly unfurled to the breeze, "the gladness of the British troops was not to be expressed." The French force now fell back upon Montreal, which was soon to witness the last stand of the French arms in Canada.

137. The Fall of Montreal. — The course of French rule in Canada was all but run. The outcome of the campaign of 1760 was at no time in doubt. The British plans left the enemy no loophole of escape. One force ascended the St. Lawrence from Quebec, a second entered by Lake Champlain, while the main army under Amherst descended the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario, all converging upon Montreal. Finally the three armies, numbering seventeen thousand men, encamped about the doomed city. To resist was madness. On the 8th of September Vaudreuil signed the terms of capitulation.

Canada and all its dependencies passed to the British crown. French officers, civil and military, with troops

and sailors, were to be sent to France in British ships. Freedom of religion was assured to the people of the colony, and all religious orders were to retain their possessions, rights, and privileges. All persons who wished to retire to France were allowed to do so, and those who remained were to continue in full enjoyment of all their property. All of the French officers and most of the soldiers, together with the

Terms of capitulation

VIEW OF MONTREAL, 1760.

higher civil officials, sailed for France. There went with them, also, of their own accord the leading members of the *noblesse*, and many merchants. The poorer colonists remained in the country, content to resume their work under a new flag.

138. Why did New France Fall? — "Half the continent," it has been said, "changed hands at the scratch of a pen." The joy of Britain was great, but greater still that of the British colonists, who saw in the fall of New France the removal of a constant rival in trade

and menace in war. Why had New France fallen? Not solely, nor indeed mainly, because of the greater strength of the invaders. It is true that the British had more men at their disposal, but this advantage was fully offset by the strong defensive position of the French. The three approaches to the heart of Canada, by the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, and the Mohawk, were beset with great dangers of navigation or difficulties of transportation, while presenting many points easy of defence. Moreover, the lines of communication within the French territory were so convenient that troops could in an emergency be quickly transferred from one point to another. This explains the remarkable fact that of the ten important sieges or battles of the war, not counting the victory over Braddock which was won really by the Indian allies, France was victorious in five, and that in four of these — Oswego, Fort William Henry, Montmorency, and Sainte Foye — she fought with the odds in her favour. The king of France was to blame for the loss of his colony, in that he failed to send it aid at critical points in the war. If, in spite of this neglect, some slight hope of victory remained to New France, it was entirely destroyed by the corruption of Bigot and his infamous companions, whose plundering undermined the strength of the colony at the very moment when the greatest strain was put upon it.

139. The Peace of Paris. — It was not until February, 1763, that the terms of peace were finally agreed upon at Paris. France, crushed by the burden of taxation necessary to maintain many ruinous wars, was eager for peace at any price. Pitt, had he been allowed his

way, would have forced upon her such terms as would have ruined her maritime and colonial power. "This," he exclaimed, "is the time for humbling the whole House of Bourbon." But fortunately for France Pitt had been driven from office by the jealous opposition of the king and his parliamentary opponents, and power had fallen into the hands of Bute, a public servant less watchful of British interests. As it was, the gains of Great Britain were enormous. France ceded to the British Canada and all her possessions on the North American continent east of the Mississippi River, except the city of New Orleans and a small adjacent district. She renounced her claims to Acadia, and gave up to the conqueror the Island of Cape Breton, and all other islands in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. Spain, in return for Havana, surrendered Florida and all her other possessions east of the Mississippi. France, subject to certain restrictions, was left free to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off a part of the coast of Newfoundland, and the two little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were given her as fishing-stations, on condition that she should not fortify or garrison them.

140. Conclusion. — The peace of Paris marked the close of French rule in Canada and the beginning of British. From the history of New France, throughout its two centuries, stand forth conspicuously the deeds of great men in peace and war: of Cartier, the pioneer navigator of the St. Lawrence; of Champlain and Maisonneuve, those pious colonisers, whose faithful labours have found most honourable monuments in the historic cities of Quebec and Montreal; of La Salle,

that dauntless explorer whose perseverance in the face of disaster is the marvel of all who read; of Frontenac, that proud, martial spirit, but for whose military genius New France had fallen a half-century earlier; of Talon and Laval, faithful ministers, the one of his king, the other of his church; and lastly of Montcalm, courtly gentleman, whose gallantry in the hour of defeat did honour to himself and to his country. Truly no country ever had more devoted servants than had New France. Their service would have built up a lasting empire in America, but for ever-present evils which were still evils in spite of apparent advantages in each: in colonisation, the restrictions placed upon immigration; in government, the suppression of the people's voice; in society, the crushing by feudalism of the *habitant's* independence.

On the Plains of Abraham, marking the spot where a hero fell, stands a beautiful pillar bearing the simple inscription —

"Here died
Wolfe
Victorious."

Victory, purchased at the price of death, opened Canada to a new race of soldiers and colonisers. Where sons of France had failed, sons of Britain were to succeed, under the more favourable conditions of toleration, freedom, and equality.

PART II

CANADA UNDER BRITISH RULE

BROCK'S MONUMENT AT QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

PART II

CANADA UNDER BRITISH RULE

CHAPTER I

1760–1774

THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE

141. The French Canadians reconciled. — The passing of Canada from French to British hands caused but slight change in the population. There left the country, of their own accord, the higher civil officials, a few seigniors, and many merchants — in all about three or four hundred. The *habitants*, however, chose to remain and to submit to the new order of things. War, by interrupting agriculture, had brought them severe privations, and now that peace was restored, they gladly returned to their neglected farms. Doubtless some of the seigniors and priests hoped soon to see Canada restored to France, but even these, won by the fairness and leniency of British rule, gradually became reconciled to the change which had taken place.

During the first three years after the conquest the government was military in character. Three districts, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, were formed, and over each a military officer presided.

Military rule, 1760–1763

It was the aim of General Murray, who held supreme command, to gain the confidence of the French Canadians by just government. As far as possible they were left to manage their affairs according to their own laws and usages.

142. The Western Indians oppose British Occupation. — The occupation of Canada, however, was not to be completed without a further struggle. Immediately after the surrender of Montreal, General Amherst had sent a small force to take over the western forts, and these had been garrisoned with British soldiers. The neighbouring Indian tribes, mainly of the Algonquin family, although including the troublesome Senecas, regarded with disfavour this change of allies, or masters, as the case might be. French traders and agents assured them that their only hope lay in aiding to restore Canada to the French. They were told that the king of France was preparing a large army to recover Canada, and that the British would soon be driven out of the country. The Indians were the more readily influenced because of their liking for the French and their hatred of the less tactful British. The former had always treated them as friends and allies, while the latter had shown a disposition to regard them as a subject race.

The discontent of the Indians found its storm centre in a chief of the Ottawas named Pontiac, a warrior fit to take rank even with the crafty "Rat." Combining the good and the bad of the Indian character, he marred courage and generosity with exhibitions of vanity and treachery. The plans of Pontiac

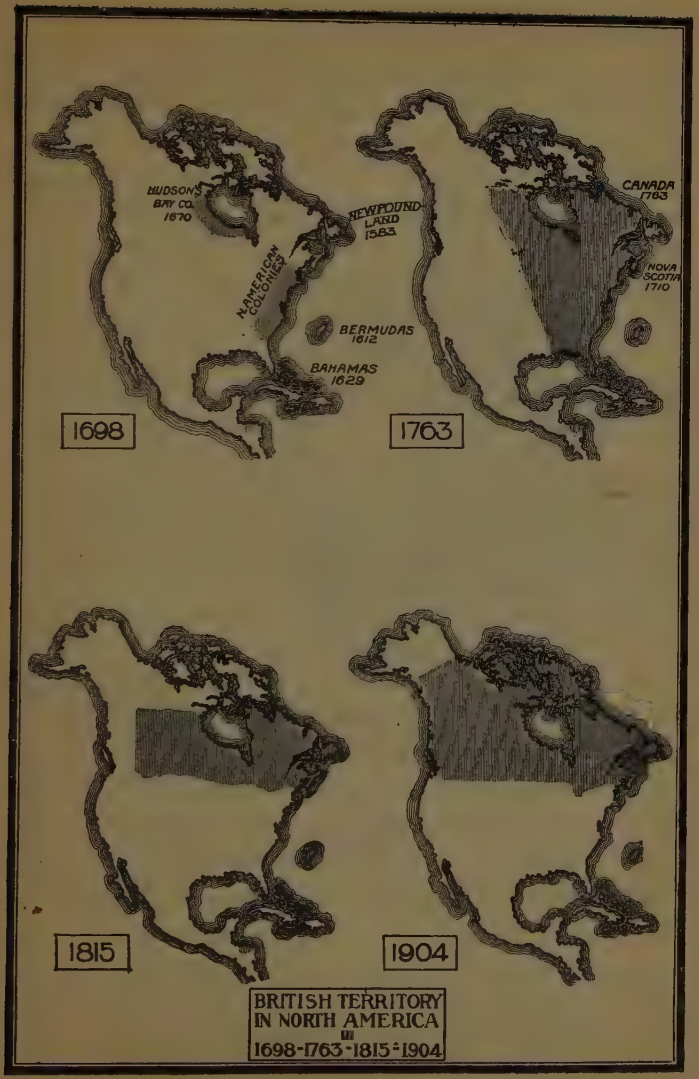
The conspiracy of Pontiac

for driving out the unwelcome newcomers were almost statesmanlike in their sweep, causing a general rising of the western tribes from Michilimackinac to the valley of the Ohio. Everywhere strategy took the place of force. At Detroit, a band of chiefs, headed by Pontiac himself, entered the council-chamber of the commandant, with short muskets concealed under their long cloaks. The plot was foiled, so the story goes, by an Indian maiden who had given warning to the commandant, with whom she had fallen in love. Defeated in his attempt to capture Detroit by surprise, Pontiac besieged the post for five months, and retired only before the advance of a large force of British. At Michilimackinac, the wily enemy invited the commandant and his men to witness a game of lacrosse outside the fort. While the play was in progress, the ball was purposely thrown close to the gate, where-

THE DEATH OF PONTIAC.

upon the players, rushing after it, suddenly dashed within the palisades, and, seizing the arms which their squaws had meanwhile smuggled in, quickly mastered the garrison. So successful was the rising as a whole that within six weeks nine forts had fallen, and their garrisons had been either massacred or reserved to be the victims of inhuman torture. News of the peace of Paris proved to the Indians that France had really given up Canada to Great Britain. Two military expeditions restored peace to the troubled frontier. A few years later, Pontiac, last champion of the cause of France in Canada, fell beneath the murderous tomahawk of a drunken Illinois warrior. An ignoble fate to overtake so great a chief!

143. Proclamation of George III. — In 1763 the proclamation of George III brought about a change from military to civil government. Labrador, Anticosti, and the Magdalen Islands were joined to Newfoundland, while St. John (Prince Edward Island) and Ile Royale (Cape Breton) became part of Nova Scotia. The government at Quebec was to consist of a governor, an advisory Council, and an Assembly. The members of the latter body were to be required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, thereby denying certain doctrines of the Roman Catholic faith. General Murray, who was appointed governor, chose a Council of twelve members, only one being a French Canadian. No Assembly met, as the French were unwilling to take the required oaths. A wise provision was made for fair dealing with the Indians. No private person could buy land directly from them.



BRITISH TERRITORY IN NORTH AMERICA
1698-1763-1815-1904

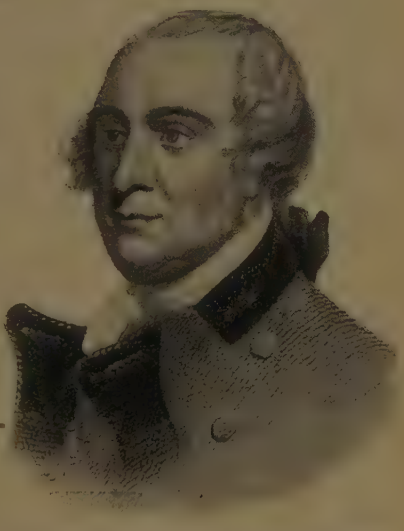
Purchases could be made only through the governor, and from the Indians gathered in council.

During the next ten years the country was in a troubled state, owing to a general uncertainty in connection with the laws. The "new subjects," as the French Canadians were called, held that in the administration of justice their "ancient customs and usages" should prevail. The "old subjects," on the other hand, were of the opinion that the king's proclamation had done away with these, and had introduced British laws. The French did not like trial by jury, preferring the decisions of a judge, a form of trial to which they had long been accustomed, and in which they had confidence. The British, in turn, objected to the plan of land tenure under a feudal system, being used to holding property in their own name. Fortunately for the peace of the colony, Governor Murray ruled in such a way as to satisfy the majority, composed of over sixty thousand French, refusing to be guided by the mere handful of English-speaking citizens, numbering in all about five hundred. That the governor did not admire the character of the "old subjects" may be judged from one of his letters, in which he speaks of them as "men of mean education, traders, mechanics, publicans, followers of the army."

Trouble between the "old" and "new subjects"

144. The Quebec Act, 1774. — The discontent of both "old" and "new subjects" made a change in government absolutely necessary. Sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded Governor Murray, made a careful study of the condition of Canada, and then went to England to

take part in the discussion of a new constitution. When he returned, it was to put into force the terms of the Quebec Act. The boundaries of the province of Quebec were extended, on the one side, to the New England States and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, on the other, to the Hudson Bay Territory. Labrador, Anticosti, and the Magdalen Islands, joined to Newfoundland in 1763, were added to Quebec. The new constitution provided for a governor and a Legislative Council, to be appointed, inasmuch as it was "inexpedient to call an Assembly."



SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER.

The Council was to have the power to make ordinances for the "peace, welfare, and good government" of the province. The right of taxation, however, was withheld, except in the case of money raised for local improvements. All disputes relating to property and civil rights were to be settled by French civil law, but in all criminal cases British law was to prevail. The Roman Catholics were allowed to retain their religion in all freedom, and their clergy to enjoy their "accustomed dues and rights." Further, they were freed from the necessity of taking

any oath whereby they would renounce their faith. In the first Legislative Council, of twenty-three members, nominated by Governor Carleton, there sat eight Roman Catholics.

It is not surprising that a measure which made such great concessions to the French met with strong opposition. The English-speaking subjects within the province opposed it on the ground that it substituted the usages of Canada for British law. The Earl of Chatham in debate termed it "a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure." The British parliament, however, was influenced by a desire to conciliate the majority of the Canadian people. How wise their decision was, events quickly proved. Within a year the French Canadians were face to face with the temptation to be disloyal to Great Britain, and the fact that they did not yield is a lasting tribute to the wisdom of the statesmen who framed the Quebec Act.

The wisdom of the Quebec Act

CHAPTER II

1774–1784

REBELLION AND LOYALTY

145. The American Revolutionary War. — The close of the Seven Years' War found Great Britain in possession of seventeen colonies extending along the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Georgia, each with a separate government. In view of the natural movement westwards which had set in, the possession of these colonies meant the virtual control of the North American continent. When upon the Plains of Abraham, Wolfe, with his dying breath, thanked God for his victory, he little thought that, of the continent which he had helped to win for Great Britain, one-half was soon to be torn away amid scenes of rebellion. Yet, even while the peace of Paris was under discussion, some keen-sighted statesman expressed the fear that the removal of a hostile power from their frontier would render the American colonies too independent of British protection. The justification of this fear is to be found in the events of the American Revolutionary War, which broke out twelve years later.

The cause of the war must be sought alike in the folly of the British government and in the impatience of the American colonists. George III, although honest and eager to do what was best for the Empire, was yet short-sighted and obstinate.

The causes of the war

To make matters worse, he was surrounded by ministers who were too weak to oppose him when he was wrong. The colonists were first irritated by restrictions placed upon their trade with foreign countries. These restrictions led to wholesale smuggling, and this evil, in turn, to the seizure of ships and to frequent rioting. It was at this point that Great Britain decided to tax the colonies in order to help defray the expenses of the late war. The colonists protested that, as they had no representatives in the British parliament, they could not fairly be taxed by that body. So strong was the protest, that the Stamp Act, the measure which had given offence, was repealed. Unfortunately, light duties were placed upon tea and a few other articles. Then followed the riot, in which a number of colonists disguised as Indians threw overboard a cargo of tea, and, in punishment of this lawless act, came the closing of Boston harbour. The outbreak of war was not long delayed. In a skirmish at Lexington were fired the shots "heard round the world," which swept Great Britain and her colonies into a struggle which ended in their separation.

Lying side by side with the rebellious colonies, Canada could not but play an important part in the war.

Appeals to Canadians

Strong appeals were made to the Canadians to join in the rebellion. Delegates from the colonies criticised the Quebec Act, saying that it represented Roman Catholic tyranny. Later, seeing their mistake in attacking an act so popular among the French Canadians, they called upon the latter to rise in the name of freedom. The majority of French Canadians were, however, indifferent to the cause of

the rebellion, being well satisfied with the just rule of Great Britain. The influence, moreover, of the clergy and seigniors was steadily on the side of loyalty. In Montreal and Quebec were to be found the few who sympathised with the rebels, mainly "old subjects" who were discontented at having little share in the government.

Canada, having resisted the temptation to be disloyal, was made the object of attack at the very outset of the war. By the Lake Champlain route, which during the French *régime* had witnessed the passing and repassing of so many war parties, the invaders entered. Already Crown Point and Ticonderoga had fallen. Canada was but ill prepared for war. There were no more than eight hundred regulars in the country. To make matters worse, many of the English-speaking citizens of the larger towns were anything but loyal, while the indifference of the French Canadians, although it kept them aloof from rebellion, made the majority of them useless for active service. Fortunately there stood at the head of the government, in the person of Sir Guy Carleton, one who was both a statesman and a general. He had been a friend of Wolfe, and had taken part in the siege of Quebec in 1759.

Canada ill-prepared for war

In the autumn of 1775 the threatened blow fell. General Montgomery, with a force of colonials, descended the Richelieu, capturing on the way the forts at Chambly and St. Johns, and a short time afterwards entered Montreal. This place Carleton had wisely abandoned, realising that Quebec was the strongest

point of defence. At great risk the governor slipped through the enemy's forces, arriving at Quebec none too soon. He found that a second force of invaders, under General Benedict Arnold, had succeeded in entering Canada by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière Rivers. Shortly afterwards, Montgomery joined Arnold, and the two leaders formed a plan to take Quebec. In view of the strength of the attacking forces and the weakness of the garrison, it speaks well for the generalship of Carleton that the invaders were foiled. In a night attack Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded, and the latter's followers, over four hundred in number, were forced to surrender. All winter Arnold hung about Quebec, but in the spring the arrival of a British fleet carrying troops forced him to retire to Montreal, and later to withdraw from the country. British garrisons again occupied the forts on the Richelieu, and in a naval contest on Lake Champlain Carleton succeeded in destroying the enemy's fleet.

Montgomery and Arnold before Quebec

At this juncture the king, acting upon the advice of an unwise minister, removed Carleton from command, and appointed in his place General Burgoyne, a greatly inferior officer. At the head of a strong force, the new commander set forth upon an expedition against New York. At Saratoga, a short distance down the Hudson River, he allowed himself to be hemmed in by the enemy, and was forced to surrender his entire army. For four years more the war dragged on, ending in final disaster to the British forces at Yorktown. By the second treaty of Paris, more

The treaty of Versailles

commonly called the treaty of Versailles, 1783, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the "United States of America."

The boundary between Canada and the United States

The treaty of Versailles made important changes in the southern boundary of Canada, as fixed by the Quebec Act. Henceforth the line was to follow the St. Croix River to its source, thence to run due north to the "highlands" which separated the rivers feeding the St. Lawrence from those flowing down to the Atlantic. Beyond this point the old boundary line of the province of Quebec as far as Lake Erie was to remain. Continuing, the line passed through the middle of the Great Lakes as far as the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods. Thus was that vast stretch of territory lying within the angle of the Ohio and the Mississippi, which the daring of Canadians had opened up, handed over to a power which had become alien to Great Britain. From the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods the boundary was to run "on a due west course to the river Mississippi." The discovery of the fact that the Mississippi took its rise about a hundred miles farther south, later gave rise to trouble. In the east also the uncertainty of the Maine boundary led to bitter discussion and almost to war.

146. The United Empire Loyalists. — The American Revolutionary War resulted in a very decided gain to Canada. Many thousands of British colonists, refusing to take up arms against their king, were forced by persecution to seek a new home in Canada. These outcasts became known in history by the honourable name

of United Empire Loyalists. During the war the feeling against the Loyalists was bitter in the extreme. Old neighbours and even relatives regarded them as traitors. After the war was over their property in many states was confiscated.

It is estimated that between forty and fifty thousand Loyalists came to Canada, the greatest movement taking place in the years 1783 and 1784. By sea to the shores of Nova Scotia, or up the Hudson to Upper Canada they came, swelling the population of almost every part of the country. Many settled in Nova Scotia, a smaller number in Cape Breton. In the valley of the St. John River several thousands found a home, and created the province of New Brunswick. A few found their way into the eastern townships of Quebec. Upper Canada can trace its beginning to the coming of about ten thousand of these welcome settlers. Upon and about the site of Kingston, in the Niagara peninsula, and even as far west as Detroit, they planted their settlements.

Their number

VIEW OF CATARAQUI (KINGSTON).
Showing the remains of old Fort Frontenac in 1783.

It was no slight sacrifice the Loyalists had made. Many had left valuable estates, built up by years of strenuous toil on the part of their ancestors. Many

had given up influential positions, as ministers, judges, officials, or landed proprietors. From homes of comfort, in not a few cases of luxury, they had stepped forth to face the hardships and privations of pioneer life in a new country. In the new home there was but one occupation open to them, namely, farming, and for this the majority were quite unfitted. In striking contrast to the unjust treatment which the Loyalists received at the hands of their late fellow-countrymen, was the kindness of the British government in relieving their distress. The sum of sixteen million dollars was voted for their relief. Free grants of land were made, two hundred acres to each Loyalist. Farming implements, food, clothing, and like necessaries were supplied.

The sacrifice made by the Loyalists

The importance to Canada of the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists can hardly be overestimated. At their coming, two provinces, New Brunswick and Upper Canada, sprang into being. Influenced by a feeling of hostility towards the people who had driven them from their old homes, the newcomers proved a constant barrier to the designs of the United States upon Canada, and later, during the War of 1812, many of them laid down their lives in defence of their new homes and country. In the development of Canada, socially, intellectually, and politically, they shared largely. Men and women who had sacrificed ease and comfort to preserve their loyalty, were the best material out of which to build a nation; indeed the Loyalists have frequently been called the real makers of Canada. Looking back from

The Loyalists' part in the making of Canada

to-day we find that of the men who have taken part in the great movements of Canadian history many were of Loyalist stock. The people of the Maritime Provinces are justly proud of the names of Wilmot, Howe, and many others, while in Ontario those of Ryerson, Robinson, and Cartwright are equally a source of pride. To this honour roll belongs the name of the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, the brother-in-law of Sir William Johnson, whose fidelity to the cause of Britain won for his tribe a reserve in western Ontario, where to-day the city of Brantford recalls the memory of an Indian Loyalist.

MONUMENT TO JOSEPH BRANT AT BRANTFORD.

CHAPTER III

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

SECTION I. 1774–1791

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

147. General Demand for Representative Government.— As the number of English-speaking subjects in Canada increased, there was a growing demand for self-government. The Loyalists, wherever they settled, added their voice to the cry for an Assembly in which the people would be represented. The Maritime Provinces were the first to enjoy representative government. From 1713 to 1758 Nova Scotia was ruled by a governor and a Council. In 1758 the first representative body met at Halifax. In 1784, as a result of the influx of Loyalists, New Brunswick became a separate province, and only two years later gained an Assembly. Prince Edward Island, which until 1769 formed a part of Nova Scotia, elected its first Assembly in 1773. While the Maritime Provinces had entered upon the period of representative government, Canada still continued under the sway of a governor and a Council.

In the Maritime Provinces

The system of government established by the Quebec Act in 1774, came to an end in 1791. The favourable terms which the old act granted to the French Canadians had done good service in keeping them loyal

during the revolt of the American colonies. The act had, however, always been distasteful to the English-speaking section, and between the "old" and "new subjects" a feeling of jealousy had arisen. Great confusion prevailed in connection with the laws. Judges, ignorant of French law, sometimes followed it, oftener ignored it. There was a general desire for a change. The advocates of reform found a strong supporter in Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, the hero of the Quebec siege of 1775, who in 1786 again assumed the duties of governor-general. Lord Dorchester's report to the British government upon the unsettled condition of the colony went far towards bringing about a more satisfactory state of affairs. The report recommended that the colony be divided into two provinces, and that to each be given a constitution suited to the character of its people. This plan was opposed by many, who wished to see British laws, language, and institutions forced upon the French Canadians. Fortunately, wiser counsel prevailed, and the French subjects, who had so recently given evidence of their loyalty, were generously treated. The author of the Constitutional Act, which brought about the changes proposed by Lord Dorchester, was William Pitt, whose father served Britain so wisely during the Seven Years' War.

In Canada

148. The Constitutional Act, 1791. — The Constitutional Act created the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the former with a population of twenty thousand, the latter with one of a hundred and twenty-five thousand. According to the instructions received by

Lord Dorchester, the Act aimed at making the constitution of Canada as like that of Great Britain "as the difference arising from the manners of the people and from the present situation of the province will admit." In each of the new provinces there was to be a governor with his Executive Council and two legislative bodies, corresponding to the king with his Cabinet and the Houses of Lords and Commons.

The legislature in each province consisted of a Legislative Council and an Assembly. The legislative councillors were usually judges, bishops, or other prominent men. Being appointed by the king for life, they were quite independent of the Assembly. The members of the Assembly were elected by the people.

The legislature

The governor was advised by an Executive Council, and, being usually a stranger in the colony, he was strongly influenced in his actions by the advice of his councillors. The Executive Council, like the Legislative Council, was independent of the Assembly. Often the members of one Council were members also of the other. It is little wonder that trouble soon arose between the two Councils and the Assembly.

The governor and his Council

While granting such a degree of self-government, Great Britain still retained a strong control over her colonies. The British government continued to levy and collect all duties regulating colonial navigation and commerce. Moreover, all public officials, including the governor-general, were appointed or dismissed at the will of the home government.

British control

The Roman Catholics continued in the free enjoyment of their religion. At the same time one-seventh of all the uncleared crown lands was set apart for the use of the Protestant clergy of the colony, a grant which afterwards gave rise to bitter strife in the Canadian legislatures. The criminal law of Great Britain remained in force in both provinces. The people of Upper Canada now enjoyed the privilege of holding land in their own name. In Lower Canada feudal tenure was retained, although even here those who wished might avail themselves of the freehold system.

Religion and laws

Section 2. 1792–1812

Representative Government on Trial

149. First Representative Legislatures in the Canadas, 1792. — Lord Dorchester was governor-general, not only of the Canadas, but also of the other provinces. Each province had a lieutenant-governor, who conducted the government except when the governor-general happened to visit the province. Generally, however, the government of Lower Canada was administered by the governor-general in person.

At Quebec, in the historic stone building commonly known as the Bishop's Palace, Lower Canada's two Houses of Parliament assembled in 1792. The French were in a great majority, and a Frenchman was elected Speaker of the Assembly. The first business transacted was the passing of a resolution to the effect that the French language as well as the

At Quebec

English should be used in debates and in the reports of the House.

Meanwhile, in the little village of Newark, — the old name for Niagara, — Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe opened the first legislature of Upper Canada. Navy Hall, the residence of the lieutenant-governor, was but a humble meeting-place compared with the stately Bishop's Palace. Moreover, the

At Newark

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT NEWARK.

many duties of pioneer life and the great hardships of travel in a new country limited the attendance to seven councillors and sixteen members of the Assembly. Men who had their harvesting as well as law-making to think of, knew the value of time. Within five weeks, therefore, this little parliament transacted the same amount of business as occupied the attention of the Lower Canadian legislature for seven months.

150. John Graves Simcoe. — Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor, may well be called the father of Upper Canada. Under his administra-

tion the population increased from twenty-five to thirty thousand within four years. He put forth every effort to attract to Canada those Americans who, although loyal to Great Britain, had been unable to face the hardships of the earlier migration. Of these newcomers the following oath was required: "I, ——, do promise and declare that I will maintain and defend to the utmost of my power the authority of the king in his Parliament as the supreme legislature of this province." The governor was all energy, travelling here and there by forest trail or river. The country was opened up by the building of roads where they were most needed. Yonge and Dundas streets in and leading from Toronto remain as the monuments of the activity of Upper Canada's first governor.

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.

Immigration

Roads

Simcoe soon saw that Newark was too near to the American frontier to serve as a permanent capital. His own choice was the site of the present city of London, while Lord Dorchester favoured the selection

of Kingston, which had already grown into a prosperous town. A compromise was the outcome, and the seat of government was moved to Toronto, a trading-post across the lake from Newark. With characteristic promptness Simcoe was at once upon the spot, living under canvas until more suitable quarters were provided. The newly chosen

York (Toronto) made the capital of Upper Canada

TORONTO IN 1803.

capital changed its name to York, in honour of Frederick, Duke of York, but many years afterwards, when it had grown to be a city, it resumed its old Indian name, Toronto. In the year 1796 the Canadas suffered a twofold loss in the recall of Lord Dorchester and Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.

151. Strife between Councils and Assemblies. — From the date of the Constitutional Act, 1791, all the provinces enjoyed the boon of representative government; yet everywhere there was discontent at the working of

the new system. The Assembly, duly elected by the people, found that its power was limited. The governor and the two Councils, Legislative and Executive, stood together in opposition to the people's representatives. The Executive Council, advising the governor, was independent of the Assembly, and therefore little inclined to consult its wishes. The Assembly steadily claimed control of the revenue of the province. Other causes of discontent among the representatives of the people were the presence of judges in the legislatures, and the interference of the British government in affairs of a purely local nature.

In Lower Canada

In Lower Canada the members of the official class controlling the Executive and Legislative Councils were of British descent, and were disposed to ignore the French. The latter had a majority in the Assembly, outnumbering the British members four to one. The strife which broke out between the Assembly and the Councils was therefore made much worse by race differences between the two sections of the population. These differences were accentuated by the Quebec *Mercury*, the organ of the English-speaking minority, and by *Le Canadien*, published by the French-speaking majority. Roused by the bitter attacks of *Le Canadien*, the governor-general, Sir James Craig, ordered the arrest of several members of the Assembly who were contributors to the offending paper. Sir James, unfortunately, was so completely under the control of the Councils that he was too ready to suspect the French Canadians of disloyalty.

In Upper Canada there were no racial jealousies to

embitter the political strife. Strife there was, however, between the official class, mostly United Empire Loyalists, and the radical members of the Assembly. Too often the lieutenant-governor allowed himself to be swayed by the advice of his officials, and so was led to disregard even the reasonable demands of the Assembly. Sometimes, on the other hand, the Assembly fell under the control of some rash agitator, and was guilty of acts that antagonised the governor.

In Upper Canada

Nova Scotia's governor, Sir John Wentworth, was a characteristic official of the age. A man of the old school of politics, he had more regard for the dignity of the Crown than for the will of the people as represented in the voice of the Assembly. That Sir John's Council should quarrel with the Assembly was only natural. One William Tonge, the leader of the Assembly, was a pronounced opponent of the governor. The latter even went so far as to reject Tonge when elected Speaker. Endless trouble arose over the expenditure of money, the Assembly wishing to construct roads and bridges to open up the country, the Council preferring to erect public buildings at Halifax and to pay high salaries to the officials. In New Brunswick a like state of affairs prevailed, the Council rejecting bills passed by the Assembly, and refusing to surrender control of the revenue to the people's representatives.

In the Maritime Provinces

152. Summary. — Representative government had been established in all the provinces. The first step towards self-government had been taken. An obstacle, however, stood in the way of further progress. The two

Councils made common cause against the Assembly. The Assembly might pass a bill which was for the good of the people, only to see it thrown out by the Legislative Council. The Executive Council, moreover, being independent of the people, often urged the governor to a course of action of which the Assembly disapproved. It was evident that before the people really ruled, the Executive Council must be made responsible to the Assembly. Long years of political strife were to intervene before this desirable change took place.

CHAPTER IV

1763–1812

PROGRESS

153. Canada in 1763. — At the beginning of the British era Canada's population was between sixty and seventy thousand. The people for the most part continued to cling to the shores of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers. Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal were still the principal centres of settlement. Quebec, the war-worn capital of the old French colony, contained seven thousand inhabitants. Montreal, enriched by the profits of the fur trade, boasted a population of nine thousand. Three Rivers, although overshadowed by its more populous neighbours, acquired some importance from its iron mines and from its convenience as a stopping-place for travellers. The Great West, save for a garrison here and there and the wandering traders and missionaries, was still a wilderness.

154. Description of the French Canadians. — The war being ended, the *habitant* again settled down contentedly upon his little farm. His cottage was small, seldom containing more than two rooms. The partition, in the absence of lath and plaster, was of wood. Strong boxes and benches served as chairs. The rough loom and the boxlike cradle were familiar objects in the home. Over the fire stood the

Houses

crane, the brick oven being found only in the houses of the wealthier class. The house of the seignior, although richly furnished, was rarely more than one story high. It often extended one hundred feet in length, and was surmounted by a high, steep roof from which the small dormer windows looked forth. Clustered about the main building were wash-house, coach-house, barns, and wood-sheds. Hard by lay the village, with its spire-capped church and stone mill showing through the trees.

OLD HOUSES NEAR MONTREAL.

In dress the upper class followed closely the latest fashions of France. With men it was the custom to wear the hair curled, powdered, and often tied in a *queue*. Upon state occasions their head-gear took the form of a three-cornered cocked hat. Their long, wide frock coats were of bright-coloured material, with lace at the neck and wristbands. The knee-breeches were fastened with bright buckles, which served to hold the coloured silk stockings. Shoes adorned with broad buckles at the instep, completed a picturesque costume which would seem strangely out of place beside the modest dress of the gentleman of to-day. The limited resources of the *habitant* demanded

Dress

a simpler garb. A black homespun coat, gray leggings, woollen cap, and moccasins of cowhide produced a sombre effect which was relieved only by the dash of colour in his bright sash. The women, also clad in homespun, indulged their love of colours in their choice of bright kerchiefs for the neck and shoulders.

A French Gentleman.

The French Canadian was nothing if not sociable. Contented in spirit, he gave himself up whole-heartedly to his amusements.

Amusements

Winter was the season of gaiety. Even with the fate of Quebec in the balance, its defenders found time for dancing. Sleighing and dancing were the common pastimes, although even the older people joined in such youthful amusements as "Hide the Handkerchief" and "Fox and Geese." No pretext for a holiday was lost; a wedding, a baptism, or a birthday was welcomed as an occasion of festivity. May-day brought to the *habi-*

tants special feasting and merry-making at the home of the seignior. Upon the whole, the lot of the *habitant* was not an unhappy one: a home small but comfortable; a simple yet wholesome diet, of salt meat, milk, and bread, varied in season by an abundance of fresh meat; a summer of toil relieved by a winter of amusement. The hardships of his pioneer days were past, and lack of ambition made him contented with his present lot.

155. The Loyalist Settlements. — If pioneer days were past in the experience of the *habitant*, they were but beginning for the settlers who were flocking into the other provinces. The year 1783 was a memorable one in the history of the Maritime Provinces. In that year the United Empire Loyalists, sailing from New York, found a ready shelter in the river St. John. At the mouth of the river these loyal refugees built Parrtown, so named in honour of the governor of Nova Scotia. In one season there arrived five thousand, mainly officers and privates who had fought their battles for the king. Others passed on to Prince Edward Island and the Nova Scotian peninsula, skirting the shores of the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic seaboard. Many were attracted by a fine harbour near the south-west corner of the peninsula. Here, as it were in a night, there sprang up the city of Shelburne with twelve thousand inhabitants. The spot proved ill-chosen, being girt by barren land. The citizens of Shelburne quickly scattered, making for Halifax and other more favoured homes.

In the Maritime Provinces

Shortly after the arrival of the Loyalists at the St.

John, the surrounding country was formed into the province of New Brunswick. Parrtown was incorporated as a city, and its name changed to St. John. Two years later the seat of government was moved to Fredericton, eighty-four miles up the river. Cape Breton, which had received about

The founding of New Brunswick

ONE OF THE EARLIEST LOYALIST SETTLEMENTS IN UPPER CANADA.

Notice on the left the man using the "hominy-block." From "Upper Canada Sketches," by permission of the author, Thomas Conant, Esq.

eight hundred Loyalists, also became a separate province, with its capital at Sydney. The island, however, did not long maintain its independence, for in 1820 it again became a part of Nova Scotia. Twenty thousand Loyalists, in all, entered Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Far outnumbering the original settlers, they put the stamp of their character upon the making of these provinces.

Of the Loyalists who entered Nova Scotia, a few passed on to the St. Lawrence, and settled below Montreal. A greater number continued their journey to Lake Ontario, being led by a Loyalist whose father, once a prisoner of the French at Fort Frontenac, had brought back a favourable report of the surrounding country. Hither came many more by way of Oswego. In 1784 the great immigration took place. Along the north shore of Lake Ontario, around its western end, and into the Niagara peninsula the newcomers spread. Gradually they extended their settlements over the tempting lands lying between Lake Erie and Lake Huron. Many of the inland Loyalists descended Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. Some of these passed on to the north and west, peopling the St. Lawrence shore between Fort Frontenac and Montreal. Others, stopping as soon as they had entered Canadian territory, settled between the frontier and the St. Lawrence colonies. This English-speaking section of Lower Canada came to be known as the "Eastern Townships."

In Upper and Lower Canada

156. Other Settlements. — In addition to the Loyalists came many more settlers during the closing years of the old and the opening years of the new century. Simcoe's liberal policy of immigration caused steady streams of "late Loyalists" to pour into Upper Canada through Niagara and Oswego. Cape Breton and the neighbouring mainland received an ever-increasing number of Roman Catholic Highlanders, as many as twenty-five thousand in the space of fifty years. The Earl of

Selkirk, a Scottish nobleman who was deeply interested in the evicted tenants of Scotland and Ireland, brought out three ship-loads of these unfortunates to Prince Edward Island. Encouraged by the success of this venture, the philanthropic earl founded a second colony, called "Baldoon," in the distant west of Upper Canada. In this period Glengarry county also had its beginning, claiming as its founder the distinguished Roman Catholic bishop, Alexander Macdonell. The roll of early colonisers would be incomplete without the name of Colonel Talbot, an Irishman who came to Canada in company with Governor Simcoe. It is said that the colonel supervised the settlement of as many as twenty-eight townships north of Lake Erie.

157. Pioneer Life. — These were the days of beginnings. Grudgingly the unbroken forests gave space for tiny "clearings," and for winding bridle-paths, where no friendly stream furnished a highway. The story of the pioneer is one of labour and privation. Everywhere trees had to be felled and the ground cleared, first for a cabin, then more widely for seeding. All the buildings were of logs, for lumber could be made only with the "whip-saw" or the "cross-cut." The cabins were commonly one-roomed, with roofs of bark stuffed with moss and clay. Chimneys were at first made of sticks and clay, later of stone and

The Houses

A Settler's Home in 1812.

brick. In strange contrast to the crude surroundings were the few pieces of old furniture, the tall clock, the chairs, and "secretaries," which some of the Loyalists had brought with them from their former homes. Too often the furniture of a home was limited to a bed made of four poles, with strips of basswood bark woven between. Even the making of chairs and tables was postponed until the "clearing" was completed.

INTERIOR OF A SETTLER'S HOME IN 1812.

Each Loyalist family was provided by the British government with a plough and a cow. One by one the difficulties were overcome: the trees were felled, the land was cleared and ploughed, the seed sown, and the grain, commonly Indian corn and wild rice, cut. There still remained the labour of making flour. In the absence of mills, the grain was crushed between stones. Stones later gave place to the "hominy-block," a hard-wood stump with a

The making of flour

large hollow burned in the top. In this hollow the grain was pounded with a wooden hammer, or "plumper." Sometimes a stone on the end of a long pole, or "sweep," took the place of the "plumper." At last, in happier days, the grist-mill drove these primitive devices out of use.

In 1788 the failure of a harvest brought on the sufferings of the "Hungry Year." Roots of all kinds, "ground-nuts," butternuts, and beechnuts, were eagerly sought. Buds of basswood, "lamb's-quarter," "pigweed," "Indian Cabbage," and other weeds were common diet. Game of all kinds, deer, rabbits, and pigeons, was plentiful, but powder and shot were very scarce.

The "Hungry Year"

To add to the discomforts of these early days, the supply of clothing was scanty. For a year or two after his arrival the Loyalist gentleman might be seen amid his primitive surroundings, clad in the fine raiment of his more prosperous days, in wide-flapping frock-coat, lined with velvet, white satin waistcoat, black satin

Clothing

COSTUMES IN CANADA IN 1812.

From "Life in Canada," by permission of the author, Thomas Conant, Esq.

tight knee-breeches, white silk stockings, and silver-buckled shoes. Soon, however, these relics of better days gave place to humble, homemade garments. Flax and hemp were grown, and from the looms there was turned out a coarse linen. Owing to the ravages of the wolves upon the sheep herds, wool was scarce. The poorer people dressed in garments made of deerskin.

Better days

The most serious drawback of this pioneer age was the absence of schools and churches. Fortunately a change soon took place. Thicker settlement and better roads brought many advantages. Here and there appeared the little log school-house and the rude church. The grist mill, too, saved the settlers untold labour. Improved roads and more leisure made mutual help possible. "Frolics," or "bees" for chopping and building, became common. Later, with larger crops and finer buildings, "husking" and "framing bees" came to be the occasions of great festivity. Venison, turkey, pies, "johnny-cake," and "pumpkin-cake" were everywhere in evidence. These delicacies were handled with dishes and spoons made of wood. At a later date wooden utensils gave place to others of pewter, first brought into the country by the enterprising "Yankee" pedlar.

158. Progress. — As in settlement, so also in church matters, in education, and in other spheres, the period between 1763 and 1812 was one of beginnings. Under French rule all churches other than the Roman Catholic had been excluded from Canada. For some years after the conquest this favoured church continued to minister to the colonists, almost without a rival. The Loyalists,

however, and those settlers who came from Great Britain, were not the men to be deprived for any length of time of the means of worshipping according to their own beliefs. Thus we soon find ministers of other churches entering the provinces and beginning that humble work from which sprang several strong denominations. Within five years of the fall of Montreal we hear of a Presbyterian minister conducting services in the Jesuit College, Quebec. In 1782 the first sermon by a Methodist minister was preached in Halifax. Two years later the Rev. John Stuart, "the father of the Upper Canada Church" (Anglican), began his work. The year 1786 saw the erection of the first Protestant church in Upper Canada, among the Mohawks of the Grand River district. By the close of the century three churches, the Anglican, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist, had gained a foothold in all the provinces. Naturally the Anglican Church claimed the allegiance of a large number of the Loyalists, and as a result became a very strong factor in the religious life of early Canada.

Of the churches

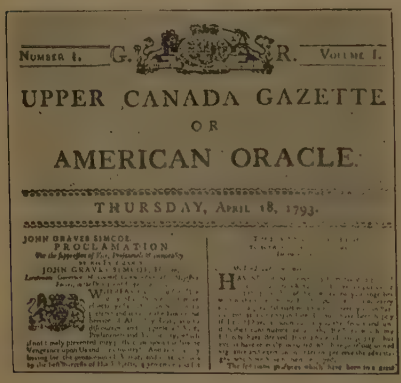
The educational system of Lower Canada was nearly two centuries old. Ever since Champlain's day priest and nun had laboured faithfully, — yet the French Canadian continued to be uneducated. Young as were the British settlements, some progress had already been made in the founding of schools. In 1785 the Rev. Dr. Stuart opened a classical school at Kingston, the first in Upper Canada. Three years later an academy was founded at Windsor, Nova Scotia, the humble beginning of King's College. The close

Of education

of the century witnessed the establishment of the College of New Brunswick, at Fredericton. Not even in the west were the interests of education forgotten. The year after the formation of the province of Upper Canada a school was opened at Newark. Early in the new century the "Home District School," the first public school of Toronto, was founded. In the same year parliament provided for the establishment of eight grammar schools, and for the payment to each master of a salary of one hundred pounds.

The rise of the press was a sure sign of progress in this period. In the year following the peace of Paris there appeared the Quebec *Gazette*, half in French, half in English, the first newspaper of provincial Canada. This paper, we are told, began with the modest support of one hundred and fifty subscribers. Not to be outdone by her old-time rival, Montreal soon issued her own *Gazette*. Niagara had the honour of producing the pioneer sheet of Upper Canada, "size fifteen by nine and a half inches, price three dollars a year." Next appeared the *Gazette and Oracle* of York, and the *Mercury* of Quebec. *Le Canadien*, the first French paper in Canada, was published in 1806. The *Upper Canada*

Of the press


NUMBER 1. G. R. VOLUME I.

UPPER CANADA GAZETTE

OR

AMERICAN ORACLE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1793.

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE.

PROCLAMATION

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE,

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN UPPER CANADA.

Guardian of Toronto, edited by Joseph Willcocks, and the *News* of Kingston, complete the list of journals founded during this period.

In other spheres there was evidence of present and promise of future progress. Here and there through the dense forests of Upper Canada ran well-built roads. A fortnightly mail had been established between Canada and the United States. The first raft of timber had been floated down the Ottawa. The first Canadian steamboat, the *Accommodation*, the property of John Molson of Montreal, had been launched upon the waters of the St. Lawrence.

General progress

CHAPTER V

THE WEST

Section 1. 1763–1812

THE FUR TRADE

159. The Hudson's Bay Company. — During the last century of the French *régime* the Hudson's Bay Company had held its own throughout the dangers of war and the competition of trade. Its forts had fallen into the hands of De Troyes or D'Iberville, but had been restored by the treaty of Utrecht. Though the dangers of war were past, the rivalry of the Canadian traders had still to be met. Despite the long overland journey, the latter penetrated to the neighbourhood of Hudson Bay, attracting the Indians with showy trinkets, and too often with brandy. The majority of the natives, however, were not easily drawn away from the old Company's forts.

160. Description of the Fur Trade. — Winter was the hunting season. The Indians covered a wide extent of country in the chase. Their camps were constantly on the move. After hunting within a radius of four or five miles from their encampment, they moved on to fresh grounds. The marten, squirrel, and ermine were generally caught in traps and snares by the women and children. The men, meanwhile, followed

Hunting

the deer, buffalo, and fox. Having once brought down these victims of the chase, they cut off the choicest parts and left the remainder for the squaws to bring into camp on the following day. Of beaver a good hunter killed five or six hundred in a season. Usually not more than

one-sixth of the beaver skins found their way to the trading-rooms of the fur companies, the greater number being used as tent and bed-coverings, and for similar purposes.

The trading took place for the most part in the summer, when the rivers and lakes were clear of ice. It is true that the Indians near the bay often brought in their furs during the winter, and were made welcome

by the traders. In the summer season, however, the inland lakes and streams were dotted with fur-laden canoes making their way from the far west and north. Lake Winnipeg was the meeting-place of the hundreds of natives who journeyed annually to Hudson Bay. The meeting was an occasion of feasting and dancing. As many as five hundred canoes in a year made the long and toilsome journey to York Factory. The strain of incessant paddling and frequent *portaging* bore heavily even upon the strongest. A canoe load, containing at the outset one hundred beaver skins, gradually dwindled as the travellers, weary of their burdens on the *portages*, cast away the heavier furs. So long and laborious was the journey that an Indian was seldom found to undertake it a second time.

The journey to York Factory

As the Indians drew near their destination, they gathered the canoes together and advanced in order. A salute from their guns called forth a response from the small cannon of the fort. At the landing-place, the chief and his companions were met by the Company's traders, and formally conducted to the trading-room, the squaws and younger braves meanwhile unloading the canoes. Pipes were at once forthcoming, and for a time the guests smoked in silence. Finally the chief broke the silence, and in an impressive speech informed the factor what tribes were represented in his company, and how many canoes had arrived. The factor's reply was one of welcome. The chief was next honoured with a gift of clothing. Decked out in a coarse cloth coat, red or

The Indians welcomed by the chief factor

blue, lined with baize, waistcoat and breeches of baize, checked cotton shirt, and brightly coloured stockings he strutted proudly about the room. This preliminary visit over, the guests were conducted back to their camp in all state, a drummer beating a march. Here the whole company was entertained with brandy, pipes, and tobacco. Then followed a debauch which usually lasted until the liquor gave out. This revelry was brought to a close by the pipe of peace, which all the braves and the chief factor joined in smoking. They then fell to the business of trading.

CARRYING SUPPLIES OVER A PORTAGE.

In the early years of the Company's history there was no standard of trade. The Indians took what they could get for their furs; the traders gave no more than they were compelled to give. Competition with the French *coureurs de bois* forced the Company's factors to pay more for their furs at the southern posts than they paid farther north. At first, too, the articles given in exchange for furs were beads, toys, and other trinkets. It was not long, however, before the Company changed its

Trading

policy, and gave the Indians those things which were needed in hunting — guns, powder, powder-horns, shot, hatchets, and knives. Coats, blankets, kettles, and tobacco were also commonly used in trade. A scale of values was soon fixed to govern trade at all the posts. The value of articles of trade was commonly reckoned in beaver skins. Thus for one beaver skin an Indian might purchase two pounds of powder, four pounds of shot, or two hatchets. A gun could seldom be bought for less than ten beavers. The trading over, the Indians departed, gaily attired in new blankets or coats, carrying their coveted guns, knives, or hatchets, above all, consoled with their beloved tobacco. In the enjoyment of their newly acquired possessions, they forgot, for the time being, the long journey that lay between them and home.

York Factory.

161. The Rivalry of the Fur Companies.— The conquest of Canada by Great Britain brought about an immediate and complete change in the fur trade. With the passing of the French *régime*, monopoly and licenses disappeared. The officers of the French Company withdrew from the country, rather than live under the British flag. The *coureurs de bois* found themselves suddenly cast

The French traders withdraw

adrift, lacking the means to keep up the fur trade. Too much accustomed to the life of the woods to return to civilisation, they threw in their lot with the Indians, took to themselves native wives, and soon became as wild as their associates.

It looked as if the Hudson's Bay Company was to be free from rivalry. Soon, however, the field vacated by the French traders was occupied by others more aggressive. Even before the conquest a few Scottish Highlanders had engaged privately in the fur trade. After the war these were joined by many discharged British soldiers. In the vanguard of enterprising Scotsmen were Thomas Curry, James Finlay and Alexander Henry. They, careless of danger and hardship, followed in the track of the French explorer Vérendrye, even to the Saskatchewan. The natives, longing to see again their old friends, the French, did not at first welcome these strangers.

The Montreal traders

The prosperity of the Hudson's Bay Company was again seriously threatened. The factors soon found that the Indians were being intercepted on their way to the bay. Roused from their inactivity by the discovery of this fact, they sent out one of their number to establish an inland post. This movement resulted in the building of Cumberland House, on Sturgeon Lake. From the beginning this post was a great success, the Indians being delighted to escape the longer journey to Hudson Bay. The Montreal traders were now the sufferers. Their men returned empty-handed to Grand Portage. Not to

Rivalry

be outdone, they pushed their traders further into the Indian country and nearer to their rival's stations. They also began to store their goods at the outposts over winter, thus saving the time hitherto lost in bringing them in every spring from Grand Portage.

FUR TRADERS ON THEIR WAY TO THE NORTHERN POSTS.

Hitherto the opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company had been that of individual traders. During the winter of 1783–84, the Montreal merchants united to form the North-West Company. The Montreal partners were to supply the goods used in trade; the "wintering-partners" were to do the actual trading, all to share in the profits. The business of the newly formed Company centred in Montreal and Grand Portage. Goods imported from England were made into articles of trade at Montreal, and these were packed in canoes and forwarded to Grand Portage. The season's furs, brought down by the *voyageurs* on their return trip, were stored in the Company's warehouses until shipped to the London market.

The North-West Company formed, 1783–1784

By organisation, the Montreal merchants were greatly

strengthened in their competition with the Hudson's Bay Company. To a great extent the two companies traded over the same territory, their trading-stations being planted in some cases not more than two or three miles apart. At first there was no violence. The rivals met in forest or on stream, shook hands, smoked, broke meat together, and then separated, the one party making for Grand Portage, the other for York Factory. Soon, however, competition grew keener, and greed overcame all feelings of friendliness. Acts of violence became common, resulting at times in murder. One young Nor'-Wester, who went over to the side of the English Company, was followed by his former employer, and, on refusing to return, was stabbed to death. Thefts of furs, and brutal assaults upon defenders of outlying stations, became frequent. As a rule, the men of the Canadian Company were the offenders, being of a more lawless character and less under the control of their employers.

Rivalry leads to violence

162. The Selkirk Settlement. — Hitherto men's sole interest in the land west of Lake Superior had been the fur trade. Lord Selkirk, the founder of settlements in Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada, was the first to realise the importance of the West as a field of colonisation. In 1811 he gave his idea practical form by purchasing from the Hudson's Bay Company one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles of land in the Red River district. During the same season a group of settlers, seventy in number, led by Captain Miles Macdonell, reached York Factory on Hudson Bay. The winter was spent in building river boats, and

making other preparations for the journey inland. The following autumn found the newcomers upon the site of the Red River settlement. Here, within the next three years, they were joined by two hundred more colonists. The Nor'-Westers, resenting the encroachment of settlement upon the fur trade, did not take kindly to the intruders. The very existence of the young colony was threatened. Of its struggle and final triumph we shall read in a later chapter.

LORD SELKIRK.

SECTION 2. 1763–1812

EXPLORATION

163. The North-West Passage by Land. — While the rivalry of the fur companies gave rise to many evils, it had at least one beneficial result. In their eagerness to outstrip one another, the traders were gradually exploring the country. The great explorers of the period were all connected with the fur trade. The first of these was Samuel Hearne, a servant of the Hudson's

Bay Company. Some northern Indians trading at Prince of Wales Fort, a strong stone structure at the mouth of the Churchill, described a "Great River" in the far north-west, displaying specimens of copper found on its banks. The Company decided to send a party in search of this river, hoping that its discovery would solve the mystery of the north-west passage by land. Hearne, who was chosen to command, received instructions to seek the "Great River," to observe what mines were near its mouth, and to take account of the longitude and latitude of every point visited.

164. Samuel Hearne. — On the 6th of November, 1769, Prince of Wales Fort was all astir. Everything was ready for the journey, and as Hearne and his companions passed out through the gate, they were honoured with a salute of seven guns. Despite the most careful preparations, nothing came of the venture. A few days out from the bay, the guide deserted, and a little later more than half of the company followed his example. "They set out," says Hearne, "making the woods ring with their laughter, and left us to consider our unhappy situation, nearly two hundred miles from Prince of Wales Fort, all heavily laden, and in strength and spirits greatly reduced by hunger and fatigue." There was nothing to do but return to the fort.

The first journey

Hearne lost no time in preparing for a second attempt, and in two months was again ready to depart. This time there was no salute to cheer him on his way. For three months he held a north-westerly course, following streams and lakes, and then struck

The second journey

inland through the barren grounds. The experiences of the travellers were becoming daily more trying. Frequently they fasted for two or three days at a time. For a whole week cranberries, scraps of leather, and burnt bones were their only food. As if such hardships were not enough, a greater misfortune befell them when they were now five hundred miles from Prince of Wales Fort. Their only quadrant, left in the sun one day, was blown over by the wind and broken. Unable any longer to take his bearings, Hearne was forced to turn back and wearily retrace his course to the bay.

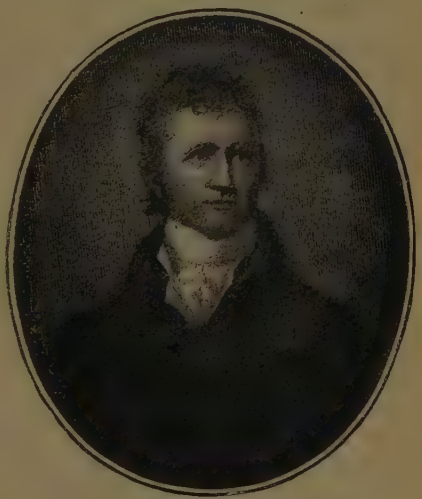
SAMUEL HEARNE.

Almost immediately after his return, the unfortunate explorer, undaunted by his failures and by the discouraging attitude of the chief factor, again turned his face towards the north-west. This time success awaited him. He was greatly aided by the Indians, whose friendship he was careful to seek. When he reached the Coppermine River, as the object of his search is now called, it was in company with a strong band of natives, who were waging war against

Reaches the Coppermine, 1771

the Eskimos. A few days downstream brought the explorers to the sea, the first white men to reach the Arctic Ocean from the interior. Considering the difficulties of the country through which he passed, Hearne's achievement was a notable one. It had the effect of arousing the Hudson's Bay Company to a more aggressive policy.

165. Alexander Mackenzie. — The ambition to find the north-west passage by land was still as powerful to lure on ardent explorers as in the days of Vérendrye. To Alexander Mackenzie, partner in the North-West Company, the quest was particularly attractive. His services to the Company and his influence among the partners, placed him in a position to undertake a search for the "Western Sea." Fort Chipewyan, on Lake Athabaska, the starting-point of Mackenzie's journey, was one of the outmost trading-posts. About the beginning of June, 1789, the little company of Canadians and Indians pushed out from the landing-place before the fort. The early stages of the journey, through Slave River and Slave Lake, were uneventful,



SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

and before the end of the month the four canoes of the party swept out upon the current of the Mackenzie.

A week later the explorers fell in with a band of wild Indians, who fled at the sight of white men, and were induced only by liberal gifts to approach the strangers. Stories of demon-haunted caves and impassable falls were told by these savages. Mackenzie was unmoved, and even persuaded one of the natives to join him as guide. Every day brought fresh difficulties, and more natives with their terrifying tales. At last, deserted by their guide, the Indians of the party lost heart, and refused to go any further. Mackenzie begged them to continue for seven days longer, promising to turn back if they did not discover the sea within that time. Before the week was ended the mouth of the river was reached. Mackenzie had known for several days that it was the Arctic and not the Pacific Ocean he was approaching. No time was lost in beginning the return journey. Just one hundred days from the date of their departure, the adventurers landed at Fort Chipewyan.

Reaches the Arctic Ocean, 1789

Three years later Mackenzie prepared to make another dash for the Pacific. In the fall of the year he ascended the Peace River to Fort McLeod, in order that, passing the winter there, he might be well on his way when the spring opened. As soon as the river was clear of ice, the party, consisting of eight whites and two Indians, embarked in one big canoe, twenty-five feet in length. From the outset the difficulties of the way were extreme. Swift rapids and leaping cascades made progress laborious and even dangerous.

Winters on Peace River

As the travellers drew near the mountains, the river, hemmed in by steep, rocky banks, presented a succession of roaring cataracts. *Portages* were frequent, and usually over ground almost impassable. In places the men drew the canoe upstream by grasping the branches of overhanging trees. The discouragement of the men was overcome only by the courage of their leader.

The climax of their difficulties came at the height of land, where a road had to be cut through dense woods. "It was with inexpressible satisfaction," Mackenzie writes, "that they found themselves on the bank of a navigable river on the west side of the first great range of mountains." This, as we now know, was the Fraser. The descent of this mountain stream brought the travellers varied experiences, meetings with strange Indians, breaking and rebuilding canoes, shooting dangerous rapids, and toiling over long *portages*. Discouraged by a report of the great length and dangerous nature of the river, Mackenzie turned back and struck off overland in search of the sea. This he did in spite of a warning that the coast Indians were "as numerous as mosquitoes and of a very malignant character."

At last the weary travellers were rewarded with a glimpse of the Pacific. Upon the face of a rock their leader recorded their visit in the following inscription. "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three." The hardships of the return journey were lightened by the thought of success and by the certainty of their route. By the middle of August the familiar waters of the Peace

Reaches the Pacific, 1793

were reached. "At length," Mackenzie's journal reads, "as we rounded a point, and came in view of the Fort, we threw out a flag, and accompanied it with a general discharge of our fire-arms; while the men were in such spirits, and made such an active use of their paddles, that we arrived before the two men, whom we left here in the spring, could recover their senses to answer us. Thus we landed on the twenty-fourth of August, at the place which we left on the ninth of May."

166. Fraser and Thompson. — From the ranks of the North-West Company there came two other noted explorers in this period. Simon Fraser gave his name to the river from whose dangers Mackenzie had turned back. He it was who first followed the entire course of that dangerous stream, reaching the sea in 1808. David Thompson spent the early years of his life in the New World as a clerk in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, but becoming restless under the confinement of his position, he went over to the side of the rival Company. In 1811 Thompson crossed the Rocky Mountains, and descended the Columbia to the Pacific, only to find that two American explorers had preceded him by six years.

Thus, by the close of this period, two expeditions had reached the Arctic Ocean, three the Pacific, all by different routes. Vérendrye's dream of a "Western Sea" had been realised.

CHAPTER VI

1812–1814

THE WAR OF 1812–1814

167. The Causes of the War. — What had happened so often during the French period reoccurred in 1812; a European war gave rise to hostilities in America. In Canada each province was intent upon its political strife, but at the rumour of war each was quick to take up arms in Britain's quarrel. It mattered not that Canadians had no part in bringing about the war.

Almost all Europe was at the feet of Napoleon. Britain alone was a stumbling-block in the way of the proud conqueror. To the removal of this obstacle the emperor devoted all the resources of the French Empire. Hoping to ruin British commerce, he issued the "Berlin Decrees," closing European ports to British ships and declaring the ports of the British Isles under blockade. Britain replied by Orders-in-Council requiring the vessels of neutral powers to touch at British ports and to pay duty before trading with European countries. These restrictions bore heavily upon the United States, whose ships were engaged in an extensive carrying trade. Almost immediately the American government retaliated by passing the Non-Intercourse Act, stopping

The Berlin Decrees and the Orders-in-Council

all trade with either France or Great Britain until the restrictions were removed. The bitter feeling of the United States towards Great Britain was increased by the action of the latter power in seizing and searching American ships for deserting seamen. Finally, Great Britain withdrew the Orders-in-Council, and made amends for any injustice done in enforcing the "right of search." It was not too late to avert war, and all differences between the two nations would have been removed had it not been for the Democratic party in American politics. The Democrats were in sympathy with Napoleon, and eager to snatch Canada from Great Britain while the latter was fully occupied with the European struggle. The United States government declared war on June 18, 1812, although the reasons for so doing were much weaker than they had been four years earlier.

The "right of search"

168. Canada's Danger. — Whatever the spirit of her people, Canada's position was seemingly desperate. A country of four hundred thousand inhabitants pitted in war against the armies and resources of a nation of eight millions! Upper Canada, which was to bear the brunt of the war, contained only eighty thousand people. In all Canada there were only forty-five hundred regular troops, and of these no more than one-third were stationed above Montreal when war broke out. Arms and other articles of military equipment were scarce. An open frontier, a thousand miles long, was almost without defence. Nor could the entire Canadian population, small as it was, be counted upon to fight in Britain's cause. Here and there were to be found men

who were in sympathy with the invaders. It is not surprising, therefore, that the enemy were confident of success. "On to Canada" was their cry. "We can take Canada without soldiers," announced the secretary of war. "The expulsion of the English is a mere matter of marching," remarked another statesman.

One thing the enemy overlooked, and that was the character of the Canadians. Fighting in a just cause, and in defence of their homes, the latter were animated by a spirit which in war always offsets an enemy's advantage in numbers and wealth. The commander of the forces in Upper Canada, Major-General Isaac Brock, was a man in whom such a spirit breathed in this hour of danger. He had already served in the country for ten years, and, unlike many British officers, he knew and valued the local militia as well as the regular troops. Brave, kind, and judicious, he won the confidence and love of his men. Under the inspiration of Brock's leadership the prospects grew brighter. Loyalist volunteers, remem-

Brock

Sir Isaac Brock.

bering how they and their fathers had been treated by the government of the United States, pressed forward on all sides, more than could be supplied with arms. In Lower Canada the French Canadians, having fresh in mind the memory of their generous treatment at the hands of the British government, were prompt to vote money and men to repel the invaders.

169. The Campaign of 1812. — The plan of campaign adopted by the Americans was threefold. General Dearborn, commanding the "Army of the North," was stationed at Albany, ready to move against Montreal. The "Army of the Centre," under the command of General van Rensselaer, threatened the Niagara frontier. At Detroit lay the "Army of the West," under General Hull, whose appointed task was the conquest of western Canada. That the far eastern frontier remained unmolested was due to the fact that the New England States were opposed to the war, as it interrupted their commerce.

The enemy's plans

The campaign opened with a victory for Canadian arms. Michilimackinac fell into the hands of a small force of regulars and Canadian *voyageurs*. This slight success had an important influence upon the western Indians, winning them over to the side of Canada. Their chief, Tecumseh, became a staunch and able ally of the Canadians. Meanwhile, General Hull was advancing into Canada from Detroit, and proudly proclaiming "peace, liberty, and security" to all who accepted American rule, but destruction to all who opposed his march to victory. It required only General Brock's calm assurance that Great Britain would protect her subjects, to allay any unrest caused by Hull's proclamation. Checked by a small force under Colonel Proctor, Hull retreated to Detroit. General Brock hurried up from York, and, quick to take advantage of the enemy's confusion, laid siege to Detroit. Much to his surprise, the enemy surrendered almost without a struggle. Twenty-five hundred prisoners, thirty-three cannon, a great quantity of military supplies, and the control of the State of Michigan, were the fruits of this victory. For this exploit the honour of knighthood was conferred upon the victorious general.

Michilimackinac taken, July 17

A British Sergeant.

Detroit surrendered by Hull, Aug. 16

No sooner had Detroit fallen than Brock hurried back

to defend the Niagara frontier. To meet the attack of an enemy six thousand strong, there were twelve hundred Canadians stationed at Fort George, and three hundred at Queenston. General van Rensselaer's aim was to gain possession of Queenston that he might use it as a base of operations. His effort to attain this object led to a battle which will never be forgotten by Canadians. Under cover of darkness about thirteen hundred of the enemy succeeded in landing on the Canadian shore. A small detachment quickly gained the crest of the heights, and opened fire upon the rear of the Canadian battery. More troops followed, and soon the heights were held by the enemy. At this juncture Brock, having sent back to Fort George for reinforcements, assumed command of a small force and dashed up the steep in the face of a scathing fire, at the same time shouting the command to "push on the York Volunteers." The words had scarcely fallen from his lips when the gallant leader fell, shot through the breast. By his side fell also Colonel Macdonell, who had come up with two companies of the York Volunteers. Although they held the top of the hill, the invaders were in a desperate position. Behind them roared the Niagara at the base of a cliff two hundred feet high; in front lay a band of Canadians burning to avenge their fallen chief. About noon General Sheaffe, upon whom the command had fallen, came up with further reinforcements. What Brock had well begun, Sheaffe ably carried through. A most galling fire failed to check the charge of the Canadian militia,

Queenston Heights, Oct. 13

Death of Brock

The enemy were swept back to the brow of the precipice, where they surrendered to the number of a thousand. This deed of arms accomplished by raw militia is held in proud remembrance, nor is any name dearer to Canadians than that of Isaac Brock.

With the battle of Queenston Heights the campaign of 1812 practically closed. Everywhere the invaders had been thrust back over the border.

Naval battles

Success had put new heart into the militia and prepared them for the sterner struggle of the following year. On sea the British flag had been humbled in defeat. In all of five naval encounters the enemy had won the day, but in every case the British ship was outclassed in guns, tonnage, and crew. Later an American and a British ship, more evenly matched, were to meet, and of that meeting a different story is told.

A British Officer.

170. The Campaign of 1813. — By the opening of spring the American forces were greatly increased, and everywhere outnumbered those of the defenders. At Plattsburg lay an army of thirteen thousand men under General Dearborn, while Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, had only three thousand for the defence of Montreal. To oppose twenty-two hundred men at Sackett's Harbour, backed by five thousand on Lake Champlain, only fifteen hundred Canadians could be mustered. On the Niagara frontier five thousand Americans faced a force of twenty-three hundred Canadians. Only at Detroit did the Canadians outnumber the enemy.

The opposing forces

In danger and hardship the coming campaign was to try to the utmost the courage and endurance of the Canadian people. Great Britain was fully occupied in Europe, and could send little aid to her struggling colony. The situation was made all the more trying by the scarcity of supplies and suitable means of transportation. Salt pork and biscuits were imported from England, while some beef and cattle were brought in

The hardships of the war

HAULING CANNON DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

From "Upper Canada Sketches," by permission of the author, Thomas Conant, Esq.

from Vermont. These supplies, however, had to be hauled up the St. Lawrence — in winter on sleds, during the summer in flatboats. These crude methods of transportation were very slow, and entailed great labour. The urgent call to arms had drawn the settlers from their homes, with the result that the farms were in danger of being neglected. In this crisis the Canadian women came forward nobly, and took up the work of brothers and husbands, while the latter fought and bled at the front.

The early engagements of 1813 were widely scattered. In the west General Proctor, making a sudden movement from Detroit, fell upon Brigadier Winchester at Frenchtown, and won a stubbornly fought battle, capturing the American general and four hundred and ninety-five of his men. Upon the St. Lawrence, before the break of spring, Colonel Macdonell and his Glengarry Highlanders made a clever raid upon the enemy. It was the custom of the Canadian militia to drill upon the ice opposite Ogdensburg. One morning, while going through their usual movements, they gradually shifted their position nearer and nearer to the American side, and, finally, making a dash for the town, they overcame the garrison before it could rally to the defence. From Sackett's Harbour the American fleet under Commodore Chauncey controlled Lake Ontario. Embarking twenty-five hundred men, Chauncey made a sudden descent upon the little town of York. Important only as the seat of government, York was almost defenceless. General Sheaffe, who happened to

Frenchtown, January 22

Ogdensburg, February 22

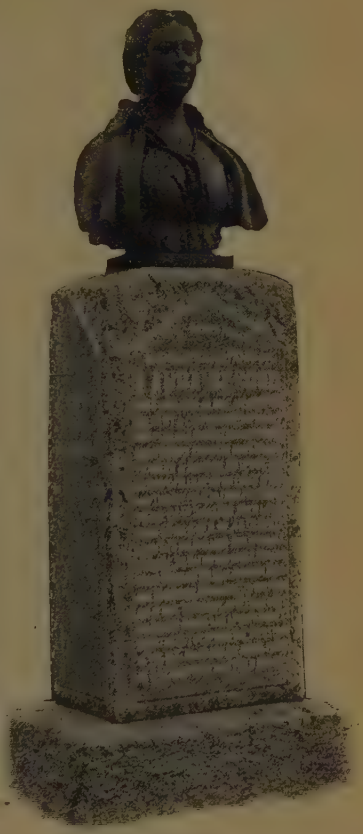
York, April 27

be passing through at the time, offered some resistance, but, in the end, thinking the place not worth saving, withdrew to Kingston. The enemy burned the public buildings, and ransacked the library. Meanwhile, taking advantage of Chauncey's absence, Sir George Prevost made an attack upon Sackett's Harbour. Although there was every prospect of taking this naval station, the siege was soon abandoned.

After these scattered engagements, the war centred for a time in the Niagara peninsula. From York the American fleet sailed for the mouth of the Niagara River, to co-operate with the land force in an attack upon Fort George. Unable to withstand the combined pressure of army and fleet, Colonel Vincent, who was in command, decided to give up the fort. Calling in the garrisons of Chippewa and Fort Erie, he concentrated his force, numbering sixteen hundred, at Beaver Dam. The close pursuit of twenty-five hundred Americans made it necessary to fall back to Burlington Heights. At Stony Creek the advance of the pursuers was suddenly checked. Colonel

Stony Creek, June 5

Harvey, sent back by Vincent to watch the movements of the enemy, found the latter off guard in a night encampment. A sudden attack in the dark threw the camp into confusion, and forced the invaders to beat a hasty retreat towards Fort George. One hundred prisoners, including two generals, rewarded Harvey's victory. Vincent was now able to reoccupy Beaver Dam, which he left in charge of Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon, commanding thirty regulars and a small band of Mohawk Indians.



THE LAURA SECORD MONUMENT.

The enemy next planned to surprise Fitzgibbon at Beaver Dam. The news of their intention reached the ears of James Secord, a wounded militiaman living at Queenston. As he was himself unable to warn Fitzgibbon, his wife, Laura Secord, undertook the dangerous mission. Driving a cow before her, that the enemy might not suspect her real aim, this brave woman set out upon her lonely journey of twenty miles through the dense woods. Added to the difficulty of

Laura Secord

making a way where there were few paths, was the constant danger of meeting lurking Indians or Americans. At the close of a long day's tramp she delivered her message to the defenders of Beaver Dam. When the American force of five hundred men approached, all was in readiness. The Indians, hidden in the woods on both flanks, by firing and yelling gave the impression of being a strong force. Meanwhile Fitzgibbon, having his little band of regulars drawn up, advanced with a flag of truce and demanded the enemy's surrender. The plan succeeded, and the five hundred Americans gave up their arms to thirty British. Fortunately reinforcements arrived in time to assist in handling so many prisoners.

Beaver Dam, June 24

Both Lake Ontario and Lake Erie witnessed naval encounters during the campaign of 1813. The Canadian fleet at Kingston, strengthened by the arrival of Sir James Yeo with about five hundred British seamen, sailed for the Niagara River in search of the enemy. Although commanding only six ships, Sir James challenged Commodore Chauncey to come forth with his fleet of fourteen sail. The challenge was accepted. The contest was more even than might have been expected, the Canadian ships, although outnumbered, being larger and more heavily armed than those of the enemy. The American ships were the faster, and so able to elude their heavier opponents. Seeing two of his ships captured and two disabled, Chauncey withdrew under shelter of the Fort Niagara battery. A month later a more stubborn fight took place on Lake Erie, which resulted in a decided victory for the enemy.

Naval battles

Commodore Perry defeated Captain Barclay at Put-in Bay, having an advantage over his adversary in number of ships and men, and in weight of metal thrown.

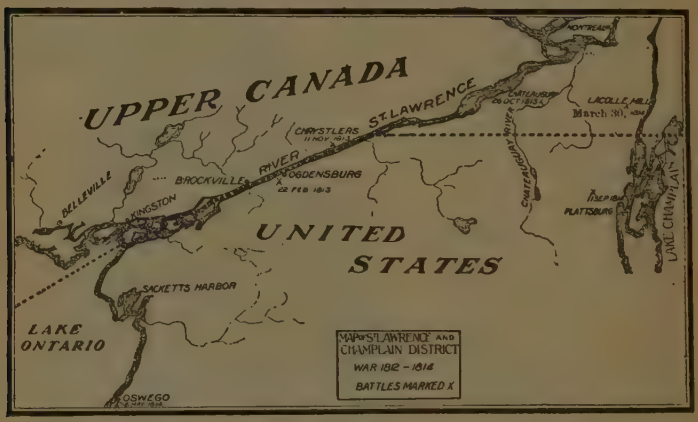
Barclay's defeat made it impossible to hold Detroit. Proctor, therefore, with his thirteen hundred men, including five hundred Indians under Tecumseh, began a retreat up the Thames, closely followed by General Harrison at the head of thirty-five hundred Americans. At Moravian Town Proctor turned to await the enemy. On the left was the river, on the right a cedar swamp, in which Tecumseh's warriors lay hidden, leaving a front of only three hundred yards, which might have been made impregnable. Neglecting all precautions to strengthen his position, Proctor was forced to fall back before the first attack of the enemy. The gallant Tecumseh refused to retire, and fell fighting upon the field which his commander had disgraced by his flight. The next day Harrison burned Moravian Town, and then marched back to Detroit.

Moravian Town, Oct. 5

TECUMSEH.

It was late in the season when the Americans began to carry out a plan of attack upon Montreal. The movement was to be twofold, one army descending the St. Lawrence, the other the Châteauguay, the two to unite at the mouth of the latter river. General Hampton crossed over from Lake Champlain to the Châteauguay River, having at his command a force of about thirty-five hundred. At a

Châteauguay, Oct. 26



favourable point upon the river his advance was checked by Colonel de Salaberry with a force of French Canadian *Voltigeurs*, assisted by a few Glengarry Fencibles under Colonel Macdonell. Resorting to strategy, the Canadian leaders ordered their buglers to scatter through the woods, blowing continually. The sound of many bugles, together with the shouting of the soldiers and their Indian allies, gave the enemy the impression that the whole Canadian army was facing them. Fearing to risk a general engagement, General Hampton withdrew.

Equally ill-starred was the advance of the second army from Sackett's Harbour. As the main body, under General Wilkinson, descended the St. Lawrence, a force of twenty-five hundred men protected the rear. Following closely upon this rear-guard and continually annoying it, came a band of eight hundred Canadians from Kingston, under the command of Colonel Morrison. At "Chrystler's Farm" the enemy turned about "to brush away the annoyance," but were themselves defeated by a force which they outnumbered three to one. Wilkinson, learning of Hampton's defeat on the Châteauguay, gave up the idea of taking Montreal and withdrew across the border.

"Chrystler's Farm," November 11

Colonel de Salaberry.

Save for the burning of Newark by the enemy, and of the American towns from Fort Niagara to Buffalo by the Canadians, the land campaign of 1813 was at an end. The only Canadian territory held by the enemy was Amherstburg, while the British flag "floated over Fort Niagara, and the whole American side of the river was a ruined country." On the ocean British seamen wiped out the disgrace which the reverses of the

previous year had brought upon their flag. Captain Broke of the British frigate *Shannon*, lying off Boston harbour, sent in a message to Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake*, asking for "the honour of a meeting to try the fortunes of our flags." The polite invitation was as politely accepted.

The *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*

THE *SHANNON* BRINGING THE *CHESAPEAKE* INTO HALIFAX HARBOUR.

The *Chesapeake* was followed out to sea by a fleet of sailing-boats filled with Boston citizens, "eager to see the battle, and to take part in the expected triumph." "Don't cheer," said Broke to his men, as the *Chesapeake* drew near, "but go quietly to your quarters." Fifteen minutes after the first broadsides were exchanged, the *Chesapeake* was in the hands of the British seamen, and above the Stars and Stripes floated the Union Jack. Upon the deck of the captured vessel lay seventy dead,

and by them mortally wounded the gallant Lawrence, whose last words to his men were, "Don't give up the ship."

171. The Campaign of 1814. — The campaign of 1814 opened with General Wilkinson's advance into Canada with an army five thousand strong. The progress of this force was effectually checked at La Colle mill, a large, two-storied stone structure manned by a garrison of five hundred Canadians. Such was the mettle of the defenders that they even dared to make a sortie against an enemy ten times their number, and forced the latter to retire across the border. Further good fortune rested with the Canadian cause in the capture of Oswego, by Sir Gordon Drummond.

La Colle mill, March 30

In the Niagara peninsula, however, took place the most decisive struggle of the campaign. Forced back from Chippewa, where they suffered heavy loss in a rash attack on a strongly defended position, the Canadian forces, raised by reinforcements under General Drummond to a strength of twenty-eight hundred, faced an army of four thousand Americans. A road lying within hearing distance of Niagara Falls, now famous as Lundy's Lane, became the scene of the last great battle of the war. From five o'clock until midnight the fight continued. Amid the darkness the combatants fought for the most part hand to hand, so that the loss on both sides was heavy. The fortune of battle swayed from side to side, but victory at last rested with the Canadians. The enemy, leaving their dead and wounded on the field, fled through the darkness to Chippewa. On the follow-

Chippewa, July 5

Lundy's Lane, July 25

ing day, throwing their heavy baggage into the river, and destroying the Chippewa bridge, they continued their flight to Fort Erie. The American loss at Lundy's Lane was eleven hundred; that of the Canadians nine hundred.

THE MONUMENT AT LUNDY'S LANE.

The closing event of the war brought humiliation to Canada. With Napoleon banished to Elba, Great Britain was free to send strong reinforcements to America. Thus it was that Sir George Prevost was enabled to advance against Plattsburg with an army of thirteen thousand men, many of them veterans of the Peninsular War. Discouraged by the destruction of the fleet which accompanied him, Sir George turned back from a task which he might easily have accomplished without the aid of ships.

Plattsburg, September 11

The Atlantic seaboard was now blockaded by the British fleets. Backed by one of these, a land force took Washington, and burned its public buildings. Although said to be in retaliation for the burning of York, this destructive act was little to the credit of the British. Both sides were now ready for peace. On the

day before Christmas the treaty of Ghent was signed. Both sides were to give up all territory acquired during the war. This meant the restoration of the seaboard of Maine and Michilimackinac by Great Britain, and of Amherstburg by the United States. American fishermen lost certain fishing privileges on the shores of British North America which they had hitherto enjoyed.

The treaty of Ghent, December 24

Before the tidings of peace reached America a fiercely-contested battle had been fought at New Orleans. General Pakenham, with a strong force of British regulars, attacked the city. The defenders, although outnumbered and consisting for the most part of militia, had strengthened their position by the construction of a breastwork of cotton bales and bags of sand, and were thus enabled to repel the assaults of the British force. The result of the engagement was the defeat of the British, with a loss of two thousand men, and the death of General Pakenham.

New Orleans, January 8, 1815

172. Effects of the War. — The Americans had little reason to feel proud of their part in the struggle just ended. They had forced on a war which might have been averted, and had attacked an unoffending people. They had gained absolutely nothing, in wealth, in territory, least of all in national honour. Their export trade had dwindled in one year from over one hundred million dollars to less than seven million, their imports from one hundred and forty million to fifteen million. Their commerce was ruined, no less than three thousand of their merchant vessels having fallen into the hands of British seamen.

Upon the United States

Upon Canada

Canada, too, had suffered greatly. Although enriched by the special expenditure of British wealth during the war, her people had yet to bear the burden of suffering caused by the interruption to industries and by the destruction of valuable property. Canadians, however, unlike their late enemy, had the satisfaction of feeling that they had come out of a war, which was not of their own seeking, with no little honour. They had entered into the struggle with slight hope of victory; they came out of it conscious of their ability to defend themselves. In the hour of danger Canadians of all nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, French, and German, had united to repel a common enemy. When the war was over, a new spirit prevailed from Halifax to Michilimackinac. Upon the battle-fields of the late war the Canadian nation had its birth. This unity, born of a common danger, was to find its political fulfilment a half-century later in confederation.

CHAPTER VII

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

SECTION I. 1815–1837

GROWING DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

173. The Common Problem of the Provinces. — The call to arms in 1812 had hushed political turmoil in all the provinces, but the war which followed had in no way affected the questions at issue between the parties. No sooner had peace been restored than the old differences again claimed public attention. The Constitutional Act had given to the people the privilege of electing an Assembly to represent them in the government. A quarter of a century had passed, and the members of the Assembly found that they had very little power. Many bills passed by them were rejected by the Legislative Council. The latter body was everywhere in league with the Executive Council and the governor. Both Councils were appointed by the governor, and so were independent of the Assembly. In the Maritime Provinces the two Councils sat as one body. Even where the two were separate, many were members of both. The bonds binding these councillors together were often very strong. Many were bound by family ties, most were residents of the same city and members

Antagonism of Councils and Assemblies

of the same church, the Episcopal. It was this close union of the ruling class that gave rise to the term "Family Compact."

During this period of strife were formed the two great political parties. The members of the "Family Compact" and their followers were called Conservatives or Tories, their opponents, Liberals or Reformers. Many serious questions arose between these parties. The Executive Council had control of the crown lands and also of part of the public funds. The Reformers, who gradually gained a majority in the Assembly, protested against the Council having so much power. The public lands and the entire revenue of the country belonged, they said, to the people, and should therefore be entirely under the control of the Assembly. They claimed, moreover, that the Executive Council should be made responsible to the Assembly. A responsible Executive Council was the demand of the Reformers everywhere. The presence in the Councils of judges and church officials was objected to, on the ground that there should be no connection between government and either the church or courts. In some provinces other differences, of religion or race, entered into the struggle of parties, but in all the main issue was the same, namely, the responsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly. Many years were to pass before the cause of reform triumphed, and in two provinces political strife was to break into open rebellion.

Demand for a responsible Executive Council

174. Lower Canada. — In Lower Canada the Assembly was at variance with the Legislative and Executive Councils. In this province there was another element

of discord, namely, racial jealousy. While both Councils were chosen mainly from the English-speaking population, the Assembly was almost entirely French. The Assembly demanded a Legislative Council elected by the people. Such an arrangement would have placed the Council as completely under the control of the French as was the Assembly.

The Councils English-speaking; the Assembly French

The standing dispute between the Executive Council and the Assembly was over the control of public funds. The revenue of the province came from three sources. First, there was the revenue arising from duties levied by the Crown, "towards defraying the expenses of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government of the province." In the second place, there was the "casual and territorial" revenue, derived from the lease of mines and the sale of crown lands. Finally, there were the returns from the duties levied by the provincial parliament. The first two sources of revenue were controlled by the governor and his Council, only the third being in the hands of the Assembly. The Assembly never ceased to claim the right to control all the revenues of the province. The Executive, however, was quite independent as long as the funds under its control were sufficient to pay the salaries of the officials.

The Assembly demands control of all revenue

The contest began early in the century. It was the custom of the governor and his Council to pay the salaries of public officials, the "civil list" as it was called, and the running expenses of the government out of the revenue under their control.

The "civil list"

During the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie, who became governor-general in 1820, the funds at the disposal of the Executive failed to cover the "civil list." The Assembly, called upon to vote more money, agreed to do so provided all public accounts were submitted for its approval. Dalhousie refused to comply with this condition, and drew money from the public treasury without the consent of the Assembly.

Louis Joseph Papineau

The Reform party in the Assembly found an able, though rash, leader in Louis Joseph Papineau. At the close of the War of 1812, in which he served as an officer of militia, Papineau entered parliament, being then twenty-six years of age. Natural ability brought him quickly to the front. The spirit of loyalty which drew him into the war seems to have characterised his early parliamentary career. In his opening speech of welcome to Dalhousie he said, "On the day on which Canada came under the dominion of Great Britain, the reign of law succeeded that of violence." Papineau's loyalty, however, soon disappeared, giving place to a spirit of bitter opposition to the governor. For ten years he was Speaker of the

LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.

House, and it was in connection with his re-election to the chair that he came into conflict with Dalhousie. The latter refused to accept him for the office. The Assembly protested, and all business was at a standstill, the governor finally proroguing the House. Public meetings were held all over the province, and a statement of grievances, bearing eighty-seven thousand signatures, was drawn up and forwarded to London. The British government, after a careful consideration of these grievances, made some important changes. The crown duties were placed under the control of the Assembly, on condition that a permanent "civil list" was voted. All judges were to give up their seats in the Legislative Council, and bishops were to cease to interfere in the government. The two Councils were to be enlarged and made to represent all classes and interests, the members not to be holders of government offices. Lord Dalhousie was recalled. His successor accepted Papineau as Speaker, and all trouble was for the time ended.

Concessions to the Assembly

These concessions brought about only a temporary settlement. The British government was willing to have the Assembly control all revenue save the "casual and territorial," provided it voted a permanent "civil list." But the Assembly insisted upon controlling the whole revenue. It was about this time, also, that it began to demand an elective Legislative Council. For a time the "civil list" was voted year by year, but finally the vote of money for the salaries of officials ceased entirely. As the "casual and territorial" revenue was insufficient to meet the demand, the salaries were left

unpaid. In 1834 the Assembly embodied its grievances in ninety-two resolutions, which were sent to the British government. It is noteworthy that these resolutions contained nothing to show that the Assembly desired a responsible executive. The key-note of the document was the demand for an elective Legislative Council. The resolutions contained extravagant praise of the institutions of the United States, which "commanded the affection of the people in a larger measure than those of any other country," and "should be taken as models of government for Canada." A commission was sent out to investigate the affairs of the province, one of the commissioners, Lord Gosford, being appointed governor-general. In reporting, the commissioners recommended that the entire revenue be handed over to the Assembly in return for a permanent "civil list," but they advised against an elective Legislative Council. The French majority in the Assembly, however, was not to be conciliated, and under the rash leading of Papineau was drifting swiftly into armed rebellion.

The Assembly's demand for an elective Council refused

175. Upper Canada.—In Upper Canada the "Family Compact" was strongly entrenched. It dominated the two Councils; it controlled land grants and appointments to public offices. Such an influence had the ruling faction by reason of this patronage that it commanded the support of many members of the Assembly. Against this combination the Reform party at first made little headway. The actions of the "Family Compact" in dealing with the Reformers were often unjust. In the ranks of the Reformers were found some men who,

having recently come over from the United States, openly advocated republican principles of government. Little wonder, then, that sons of Loyalists, as many members of the "Family Compact" were, should be severe in their attitude towards those whom they regarded as disloyal to Great Britain. On the other hand, it must be remembered that among the Reformers were many men of Loyalist blood, who, while strongly advocating responsible government, never wavered in their allegiance to Great Britain.

The strength of the "Family Compact"

JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

Two of the most influential members of the "Family Compact" were John Beverley Robinson, lawyer, and John Strachan, clergyman. The former, of Loyalist stock, became acting attorney-general of the province at the age of twenty-one. Later he was made chief-justice, and finally, in recognition of his services to the Crown, was made a baronet. His ability and fearless honesty won the respect even of his opponents. His very loyalty it was that drew him into actions which, viewed from our day, seem tyrannical.

John Beverley Robinson

John Strachan, afterwards first bishop of Toronto, became a member of the Executive Council in 1815.

John Strachan

The most prominent figure in the church, he was at the same time a skilled politician. More than any other man of the time he directed the policy of the ruling class.

The lieutenant-governors, seeing that they occupied a non-partisan office, might have been expected to limit the undue power of the "Family Compact."

The lieutenant-governors

Unfortunately, the men who held office during this period, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir John Colborne, and Sir Francis Bond-Head, all made common cause with the ruling faction. They had served their country on the field of battle, and held high ideals of loyalty. Whenever they saw the Reformers attacking the government they were too ready to attribute these attacks to disloyalty.

A church question served to complicate the political situation in Upper Canada. By the Constitutional Act one-seventh of the ungranted lands of the province, two and one-half million acres in all, was set apart for the support of the "Protestant clergy." This term of the act was severely criticised. In the first place, the grant was too large. Secondly, the fact that the land granted was not all in one block, but made up of lots numbered seven in each township, resulted in the evil of uncleared blocks where the surrounding land was under cultivation. Difficulty arose, also, over the definition of the term "Protestant clergy." At first it was interpreted by the "Family Compact" to mean only the clergy of the

The "Clergy Reserves"

Church of England. Later it came to include the Established Church of Scotland. The exclusion of the Methodists and Baptists led to more trouble. Some of these held that the revenue from the "Clergy Reserves" should be divided among all the Protestant churches. Others, mainly the Baptists, thinking that no church should be supported from the public funds, urged that the entire revenue be devoted to secular ends. The question was discussed everywhere, in pulpit, parliament, and press, and became an important factor in the trouble leading to the rebellion. The champion of the Anglican church in this controversy was Dr. Strachan, who severely criticised the other denominations. His criticisms called forth a spirited reply from a young Methodist minister, named Egerton Ryerson, who became the leader of the "dissenting" churches in their struggle for the secularisation of the "Clergy Reserves." These two men were destined to play prominent parts in the history of their province, not only in church matters, but also in politics and in education.

BISHOP STRACHAN.

One of the first to incur the displeasure of the "Family Compact" in Upper Canada was an eccentric Scotsman, Robert Gourlay, a land agent by occupation. Roused by what he considered the unjust administration of provincial affairs Gourlay sent to every township a list of questions, the last of which read, "What, in your opinion, retards the improvement of your township in particular, or of the province in general, and what would most contribute to the same?" Public meetings were held everywhere, much to the alarm of the "Family Compact." Gourlay was twice arrested on the charge of libel, and twice acquitted. Arrested a third time, charged with sedition, he was cast into prison, where he remained for seven months. Finally brought to trial at Niagara, the home of the "Family Compact," he was convicted, and expelled from the country.

The case of Robert Gourlay

Francis Collins, editor of the *Canadian Freeman*, a paper published in the interests of the Reformers, was the next victim of official displeasure. So bitter were his criticisms of the government and its officials, that he was prosecuted for libel by the attorney-general, John Beverley Robinson, and was convicted, fined, and imprisoned. The people, in full sympathy with the prisoner, paid his fine, and petitioned the governor to set him free. The petition was refused. In the following year, however, Collins was pardoned by the king in response to an appeal from the Assembly.

Francis Collins, Editor

By far the most notable champion of the popular cause was a hot-tempered Scotsman named William

Lyon Mackenzie, the editor of the *Colonial Advocate*, published first at Queenston, later at York. The *Advocate*, whose columns were mainly devoted to attacks upon the government, did not prove a paying concern, so that Mackenzie's resources were soon at a low ebb. An ill-advised act, however, on the part of some Tory youths unexpectedly brought him better fortune. The printing-press of the *Advocate* was seized and destroyed, and the type thrown into the lake. In the courts Mackenzie recovered damages, but greater than his gain in money was his gain in popularity. He was shortly afterwards elected to the Assembly as member for York. In the Legislature he denounced the government as vigorously as he had through the press. Expelled from the House for the use of immoderate language, he was straightway re-elected. Again and again he was expelled, and as often re-elected. As a final proof of his popularity, when York was incorporated under the name of Toronto, Mackenzie was chosen first mayor.

William Lyon Mackenzie

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE.

In 1830 a split took place in the ranks of the Reform party, caused by the extravagance of Mackenzie's views and speech. The more moderate reformers, such as Robert Baldwin and Egerton Ryerson, stood aloof from the radical wing of the party. Mackenzie had already gone the length of advocating republican principles, even to the point of breaking with Great Britain. He was in correspondence with Papineau, who had invited concerted action. He had also received and published in his paper a letter from an English Radical named Hume, who prophesied that the course of events in Canada "must terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the Mother Country."

A split in the Reform party

In the elections of 1835 the Reformers won the day. Under the leadership of Mackenzie a report on grievances was submitted to the British government. This report opened the eyes of British statesmen to the condition of affairs in Canada. The lieutenant-governor, Sir John Colborne, was recalled, and Sir Francis Bond-Head appointed in his place. Yet Great Britain was not prepared to go so far as to grant responsible government. True, the Executive Council in the home government was responsible to Parliament, but in Canada the case was different. Imperial statesmen thought that to grant responsible government to a colony would be to make it practically independent.

Mackenzie's report on grievances

Never was a political situation in such need of a tactful ruler. A wise governor might have conciliated even the extreme wing of the Reform party. Unfortunately,

Sir Francis Bond-Head was too self-confident, and in addition was ignorant of Canadian affairs. He summoned three Reformers to his Council, at the same time telling them that they were not responsible to the Assembly, and that he would not necessarily act upon their advice. The three ministers promptly resigned; and Sir Francis, washing his hands of the entire Reform party, cast his influence upon the side of the "Family Compact." The Assembly passed an address censuring Bond-Head, and at the same time refused to vote supplies. The lieutenant-governor dissolved the House. In the elections which followed, Sir Francis, forgetting the non-partisan character of his office, threw himself heart and soul into the cause of the Conservatives. With him reform meant disloyalty. The Reformers were defeated, even Mackenzie failing to win a seat. Bitterly disappointed in his hope of securing reform through political agitation, the impulsive Scotsman resolved to risk all upon the hazardous chance of rebellion.

An unwise governor

176. Nova Scotia. — In Nova Scotia the struggle between the two political factions was postponed for some years by the depression in trade which followed the war, and the removal of the British fleet from Halifax to Bermuda. Moreover, the "Family Compact" was strong enough to overawe all opposition. The Executive and Legislative Councils constituted one body, and sat behind closed doors, in spite of the protest of the Assembly. In this province, also, the lieutenant-governor sided with the "Family Compact," looking upon the Reformers as

The "Family Compact"

enemies of the Crown. One of the most stubborn opponents of all change was Sir Colin Campbell, who became lieutenant-governor in 1834. On the other hand, the ablest advocate of reform was Joseph Howe, a young man of Loyalist blood. Educated under the greatest disadvantages, Howe more than made up for any defects in scholarship by his natural genius and untiring energy.

JOSEPH HOWE.

Halifax, not yet incorporated, was ruled by magistrates appointed by the lieutenant-governor. These officials were independent of the people, and were guilty of the most glaring neglect and dishonesty. The charge of corruption was made publicly through the columns of the *Nova Scotian*, of which Howe was the editor. Prosecuted for criminal libel, Howe was advised to settle out of court. Conscious that he was in the right, the youthful editor refused to withdraw the charge, and, ignorant though he was of legal procedure, undertook his own defence. In spite of the fact that the chief justice of the province, who was a member of the Council, presided at the trial and charged directly against Howe, the jury, after an ab-

Joseph Howe, popular leader

sence from the court room of ten minutes, brought in a verdict of "not guilty." In the following year Howe was elected to the Assembly, where he at once stepped to the front rank of the Reformers. What Papineau and Mackenzie were in the Canadas, Howe was in Nova Scotia, the chosen leader of the people. He, as they, threw in his weight with the cause of reform, and against the tyranny of the "Family Compact." But in one respect Howe was a greater leader than either of his contemporaries, namely, in his loyalty to the Crown. By every constitutional means he strove to attain the ends of reform, but his loyalty to Great Britain always kept him clear of even the thought of rebellion.

Under Howe's leadership the Assembly succeeded in bringing about some important reforms. The Council was forced to discontinue its secret sessions. A series of resolutions drawn up by the Assembly, and submitted to the British government, resulted in several decided changes. Sir Colin Campbell was instructed to form two Councils, a Legislative and an Executive, and to choose the members of the latter partly from the Assembly. The chief-justice and the bishop were to be excluded from both Councils. The Assembly was given control of all public funds except the "casual and territorial" revenue. In carrying out his instructions the lieutenant-governor appointed to the Executive Council only such members of the Assembly as were friendly to the "Family Compact." The Assembly was by no means satisfied, complaining that the Council was still irresponsible, and refused to vote the "civil list" for more than a year at a time. A

The struggle for a responsible Council

second delegation was sent to England to ask for further reform. The Council sent a counter-delegation. The outcome was by no means favourable to the Reformers, as the British government refused to grant an Executive Council entirely responsible to the Assembly. Although the cause of reform was at a standstill, the Reformers never wavered in their loyalty to the Crown.

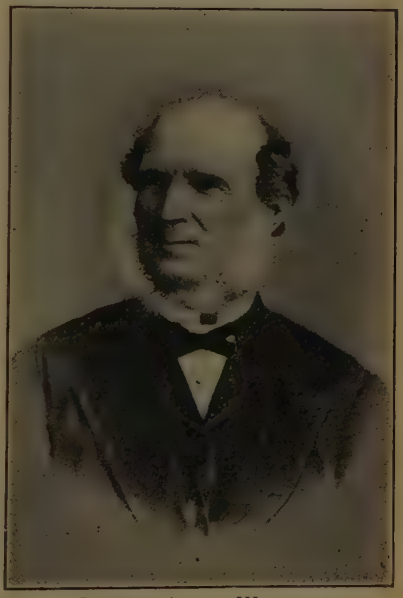
177. New Brunswick. — In New Brunswick the first success of the Assembly was won in 1832, when the Executive and Legislative Councils were separated. This division made it possible to appoint members of the Assembly to the Executive Council. The lieutenant-governor, however, refused to do so. Here, as in the other provinces, trouble arose over the revenue. The crown lands were under the management of a commissioner appointed by the lieutenant-governor, and so were beyond the reach of the Assembly. The proceeds from these lands were directed to the payment of the "civil list." In New Brunswick, as in no other province, a large surplus remained. Of this the Assembly claimed control, but the lieutenant-governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, maintained that the lands belonged to the king, and should not, therefore, be in the hands of the people's representatives.

The cause of reform in New Brunswick found its greatest champion in Lemuel Allan Wilmot, a rising young lawyer, who entered the Assembly in 1836. Ability and eloquence soon put him at the head of his party, and later won him a place on a delegation sent to England to petition the British government for much-needed reforms. Many of these re-

Lemuel Allan Wilmot

forms were granted. The lieutenant-governor was recommended to choose some members of the Executive Council from the Assembly. The Assembly was given control of the "casual and territorial" revenue on condition that it voted a permanent "civil list" of sixty thousand pounds. Sir Archibald Campbell was forced to resign. Under his successor, Sir John Harvey, the hero of Stony Creek, the Assembly enjoyed its new privilege. Although there was still much to be gained in the way of reform, the province was kept in a state of comparative peace by the popular rule of the new lieutenant-governor.

The Assembly given control of the revenue



LEMUEL ALLAN WILMOT.

178. Prince Edward Island. — Prince Edward Island was unfortunate in one at least of its early lieutenant-governors. Arbitrary in the extreme, he insulted the Assembly by frequently dissolving and proroguing it, and for four years neglected even to summon its members. His successors were fortunately less despotic. The great problem in Prince Edward Island was the land question. Large tracts of land were held by land-

lords living in England. The government tax, called "quit-rent," became very burdensome, and many owners fell in arrears. Later, all arrears were cancelled, and the tax was reduced. For some years the tax was not collected at all, and the owners began to think that it would be removed. Then, without any warning, the lieutenant-governor sent out agents to collect the rents from the tenants occupying the land. As the occupants had no money to pay the tax, there was general indignation at the lieutenant-governor's action. Public meetings were held, and a petition was drawn up asking for his recall. The petition was granted, and under a wiser ruler the island became more peaceful. Prince Edward Island had to face the problems common to all the provinces. Its Assembly had to pass through a period of agitation to secure a responsible Executive Council, and control of the public funds.

The land problem

179. Summary. — The opening of this period, 1815–1837, saw in each province two opposing factions; on the one hand, the "Family Compact" entrenched in the Legislative and Executive Councils and supported by the governor, on the other hand, the party of reform, represented in the Assembly. Save for side issues, such as the "Clergy Reserves" in Upper Canada, race jealousy in Lower Canada, and the land question in Prince Edward Island, the two problems common to all the provinces were revenue control and the responsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly. The close of the period found the Assembly everywhere in control of the revenue. The responsibility of the Executive, however, the British government was not yet prepared to admit.

Section 2. 1837–1841

REBELLION AND UNION

180. Popular Leaders. — The cause of reform was at a standstill. In the quarter of a century following the War of 1812 much had been gained, but responsible government, for which the Assemblies were petitioning, was yet withheld. Two courses were open to the Reformers, either to await the outcome of steady constitutional pressure to attain their object, or to take up arms in rebellion. The choice rested mainly with the leader of the people in each province. Fortunately for the Maritime Provinces, their Reformers were guided by such moderate statesmen as Howe and Wilmot, who were not to be outdone in loyalty by their most conservative opponents. The reform cause in the Canadas was less happily championed. Papineau and Mackenzie, disappointed in their efforts to gain their ends by political agitation, cast judgment to the winds, and dragged the more excitable members of their party into rebellion.

Queen Victoria (1837–1901).

181. The Rebellion in Lower Canada. — Acting upon the report of the commission appointed to look into the affairs of Lower Canada, the British government had declined to grant an elective Council or a responsible Executive. Moreover, seeing that the Assembly had refused to vote supplies, the governor-general was instructed to take money from the provincial treasury to pay all arrears in connection with the "civil list." Nothing more was needed to bring the rebellion to a head. Public meetings were held, the people organising themselves into societies called "Sons of Liberty." Their leader was greeted with cries of "Long live Papineau, our Deliverer." Associated with Papineau was Dr. Wolfred Nelson, a man of great eloquence and commanding influence. At St. Charles on the Richelieu was erected a "Liberty Column," about which the rebels mustered. St. Denis was another rallying point, and here Nelson was in command. Meanwhile the loyal subjects of the province were gathering at Montreal. From Upper Canada came all the regular troops, in spite of the fact that that province also was exposed to a rebellion. The lieutenant-governor, not unwisely, trusted to the militia of the younger province to maintain order within its borders.

"Sons of Liberty"

Sir John Colborne, commander-in-chief of the loyal forces, brought a firm hand to bear upon the uprising. Expeditions were sent against the two centres of rebellion. Colonel Gore, after a sixteen-mile march on a stormy night, attacked Nelson's position at St. Denis, but, having only one gun to train upon the stone walls of the distillery in which the rebels were

St. Denis

lodged, he was forced to withdraw. Colonel Wetherall, in command of the movement against St. Charles, was more fortunate. The leader of the *habitants* at this point, an American who styled himself "General" Brown, fled at the first shot, and his ill-advised followers were quickly routed. At the news of Wetherall's victory, Nelson's force at St. Denis scattered. The rebellion, save for a hopeless stand in the villages of St. Eustache and St. Bénoit, north of Montreal, was now at an end. Very early in the outbreak, Papineau, acting upon the advice of his friends, had sought safety in the United States.

St. Charles

182. The Rebellion in Upper Canada. — Meanwhile in Upper Canada Mackenzie was following the example of Papineau. Breaking completely with the more moderate Reformers, such as Baldwin and Ryerson, he issued a declaration setting forth grievances and renouncing allegiance to Great Britain. A proclamation called upon the people to rise. The mustering place was Montgomery's Tavern on Yonge Street, a few miles north of Toronto. The object of the rebels was to seize the military stores in the City Hall, but the prompt arrival from Hamilton of Colonel MacNab and the Gore militia frustrated the plot. Five hundred militiamen advanced against the thousand half-armed rebels, and after a slight skirmish put them to flight. Mackenzie fled to the United States and at once established his headquarters at Navy Island in the Niagara River, where he and his followers, parading as "Patriots," established a "Provisional Government." The steamer *Caroline* was made use of to carry supplies to his camp. One

Montgomery's Tavern

night a band of volunteers, acting under instructions from Colonel MacNab, put out from the Canadian shore in row-boats to capture the enemy's vessel. Though lying under the guns of the American fort, the *Caroline* was cut loose, set on fire, and sent over the Falls. Mackenzie soon abandoned Navy Island, and withdrew to the United States.

The *Caroline* affair

Though rebellion had been crushed in Upper and Lower Canada, both provinces continued to be annoyed by the petty attacks of American filibusters. In the towns along the border secret societies, called "Hunters' Lodges," were formed. Their sworn purpose was to spread republican institutions over the whole continent. The first effort of these societies was an attack on Prescott in 1838. About two hundred adventurers under the command of Von Schultz, a Polish exile, crossed from Ogdensburg, and entrenched themselves in an old wind-mill. A small force from Kingston attacked the place, and Von Schultz and eleven of his associates were captured, tried, and hanged. Later in the same year a murderous attack on Sandwich was repulsed with considerable loss to the invaders. The annoying, though futile, raids planned by the "Hunters' Lodges" were a disgrace to the government of the country from which they were made.

The "Hunters' Lodges"

183. Reason for the Failure of the Rebellions.—The rebellions of Upper and Lower Canada had ended in miserable failure. Nor could it have been otherwise. Both Papineau and Mackenzie misjudged the feeling of the majority of the people. In Lower Canada the full influence of the church and of the seigniors was upon

the side of the government. Only the more thoughtless *habitants* allowed themselves to be carried away by the eloquence of Papineau. To say that the rebellion was of the French Canadian nation is to malign the majority of a people who had stood loyal to Great Britain in two crises. It would be equally unjust to visit the blame of the Upper Canada rising upon the Reformers of that province. Only the extreme members of the party were misled by the impulsive Scotsman, who allowed his admiration for a republican form of government to overcome his loyalty to his country.

184. Lord Durham. — Naturally rebellion gave a setback to reform. It threw discredit upon the Reformers, while it everywhere strengthened the position of the "Family Compact." Yet the risings were not without good effect. They impressed upon the British government how great was the need of a change in the administration of the colonies. An increased interest in colonial affairs found expression in the appointment of Lord Durham to be governor-general, and to act as High Commissioner to investigate the abuses which had pro-

LORD DURHAM.

voked rebellion. Unfortunately Durham's stay in Canada was short. Called upon to deal with the instigators of the late rising, he pursued a policy which met with the disfavour of the home government. Most of the ringleaders had fled to the United States. The majority of the prisoners he pardoned, but eight, including Nelson, he banished to Bermuda. The home government disallowed this decree, and so severely was the governor criticised that he resigned and sailed for England. Short as was his administration, it was long enough to admit of his grasping fully the political situation in all the provinces.

The now famous "Durham's Report" is one of the most remarkable documents relating to the history of Canada. Its author sent agents to each province to inquire into the state of the government and the grievances of the people. He also invited the lieutenant-governors of the Maritime Provinces and members of their legislatures to meet him in conference at Quebec. The report, based upon facts thus carefully gathered, criticised fearlessly the existing provincial governments, asserting that "while the present state of things is allowed to last, the actual inhabitants of these provinces have no security for person or property, no enjoyment of what they possess, no stimulus to industry." The report contained, among others, the following recommendations: that Upper and Lower Canada be united, in order to remove race jealousies; that the Executive Council be made responsible to the Legislature; that an intercolonial railway be built, with a view to uniting all the provinces; and, finally, that municipal institutions be established.

"Durham's Report"

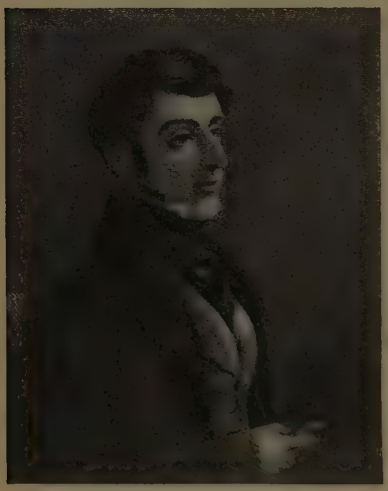
185. The Union Act, 1840–41. — The imperial government lost no time in acting upon the suggestions made in Lord Durham's report. Mr. Poulett Thomson was appointed governor-general, and entrusted with the task of bringing about the proposed change. The question of union was laid before the Legislature of Upper Canada and the special Council of Lower Canada, which had conducted the affairs of that province during the rebellion. As both bodies favoured the proposal, the imperial government in 1840 passed a measure entitled, "An act to reunite the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and for the government of Canada." The act came into force in the following year, 1841. It provided for a Legislative Council of not less than twenty members, appointed by the Crown, and for a Legislative Assembly in which each of the united provinces would be equally represented, in all by eighty-four members. The English language only was to be used in the legislative records. Each Legislative Assembly was to have a duration of four years, unless dissolved by the governor within that time. A session of the Legislature was to be held at least once a year. All revenue over and above the expenses of the government, including the "civil list" of £75,000 fixed by the act itself, was to be under the control of the Assembly.

Section 3. 1841–1848

THE TRIUMPH OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

186. The First Union Parliament. — After the union the instructions of the British government to the gov-

ernor-general were to administer the affairs of the province "in accordance with the well-understood wishes and interests of the people." He was to call to his council and employ on public service those who had obtained "the general confidence and esteem of the province." The governor must oppose the wishes of the Assembly only when "the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire were deeply concerned." In addressing the members of the first union parliament the governor expressed himself as bound by the principles of responsible government. Several years, however, were to elapse before responsibility of the Executive was fully adopted as a working principle in government.



LORD SYDENHAM AND TORONTO.

Lord Sydenham — Mr. Poulett Thomson had been so honoured for his services in bringing about the union — summoned the first union parliament to meet at Kingston in 1841. An Executive Council was appointed from both parties, including Mr. W. H. Draper, a pronounced supporter of the "Family Compact," and Mr. Robert Baldwin, the recognised leader of the Upper Canadian Reformers. There were at least four

parties in the Assembly: the "Family Compact" Tories, who were bitterly opposed to responsible government; the moderate Tories, who were inclined to submit to the change which had taken place; the moderate Reformers, who were in favour of giving the coalition ministry a chance; and the extreme Reformers, who demanded a new Executive. The coalition plan did not prove a success, and in the following year Draper and the other members of his party were forced to resign. A new Administration was formed, which represented the Reformers of both sections of the country. This was the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry, so named from the two leaders, Mr. Louis H. Lafontaine and Mr. Robert Baldwin. This plan of adopting a double name was continued, with one exception, down to the time of confederation.

A coalition fails

Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry

187. Municipal Government. — One of the first acts of the Legislature was the introduction of a system of municipal government into the united provinces. In early days the provincial parliaments had been burdened with all the details connected with the government of each municipality. Even before the union, Upper Canada had given some freedom of government to cities, towns, villages, and counties. The Municipal Act of 1841 extended the privileges of local self-government over the two provinces. The Maritime Provinces were much later in adopting the system, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick not until after confederation. The municipalities of Prince Edward Island do not yet fully enjoy the advantages of local control.

Municipal control has proved a great benefit to Canada in training the people in the art of government.

188. The Triumph of Responsible Government in Canada. — The members of the "Family Compact," while submitting gracefully to the change brought about by the Union Act, were watching for an opportunity to regain their old influence. The opportunity came with the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to the governorship. Sir Charles, being a ruler of the old school, was not disposed to recognise the principle of responsibility to the Assembly. He admitted responsibility to the queen alone. Holding such views, he was not long in breaking with the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry. His first unconstitutional act was the appointment of officials without consulting his ministers. The latter at once resigned office. A general election followed, the outcome of which was eagerly watched in all the provinces.

Sir Charles Metcalfe

The contest was bitter, both the governor and his late ministers having many strong supporters. The principle of responsible government was at stake. Sir Charles claimed that, as he represented the Crown, he had the right to make appointments upon his own authority. The ministers, on the other hand, contended that they, as the representatives of the people, should be consulted in the choice of all officials. The governor found a staunch supporter in Dr. Egerton Ryerson, who wrote several pamphlets in defence of the former's action. The case of the ministers was ably upheld by a young Scotsman, George Brown, the founder of the *Globe*, the leading organ of

Responsible government in danger

the Reform party. When the election returns were in, it was found that the Conservatives had a majority, and that the governor had been sustained. Mr. Draper formed a new ministry. The successful candidate for Kingston in this election, it is interesting to note, was Mr. John Alexander Macdonald. The entry into public life of George Brown and John A. Macdonald was an important event in the history of Canada.

In 1844 the seat of government was moved from Kingston to Montreal. In the following year Sir Allan MacNab introduced the Rebellion Losses Bill, which aimed at compensating those loyalists who had suffered loss of property during the recent rebellion in Upper Canada. The sum of £40,000 was voted for this purpose. Immediately a similar demand was made on behalf of the loyal citizens of Lower Canada. A proposal to make a further grant of £10,000 for this purpose roused a storm of indignation. The French Canadian loyalists protested that the amount was too small, while the Upper Canadians were bitterly opposed to granting anything to those whom they regarded as rebels. Upon this scene of tumult came Lord Elgin, the son-in-law of Lord Durham.

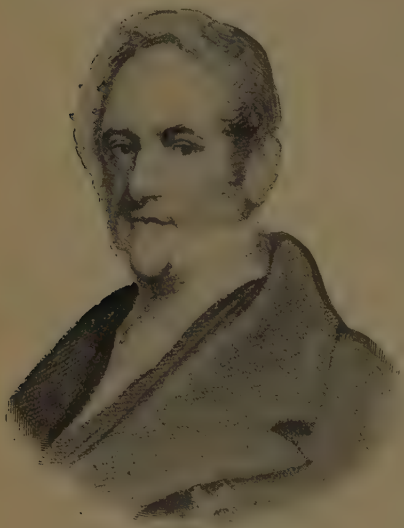
Lord Elgin

It was clear from the outset that the newly appointed governor, being a man of great political wisdom, would consult the wishes of the Assembly. A year later an election took place, in which the Reformers won by a large majority. The Conservative ministry, from which Mr. Draper had retired two years earlier, was forced to resign. Lord Elgin at once called upon the leaders of the Reform party, Messrs. Lafontaine and Baldwin, to

form a new government, by this act fully recognising the principle of responsible government. Since that date, 1848, no Canadian governor has violated this principle.

189. Triumph of Responsible Government in the Maritime Provinces. — Meanwhile, in the Maritime Provinces the course of events in Canada had been closely watched. Conservatives and Reformers alike had looked with hatred upon the rebellions, forgetting their political differences in their sympathy with the cause of loyalty. The filibustering movements of the Americans, so annoying to the upper provinces, had almost caused an outbreak between New Brunswick and Maine, where a standing boundary dispute held the germ of war. When, in connection with the union of the Canadas, the governor-general was given instructions regarding responsible government, the question arose whether these applied to all the provinces. The Reformers claimed that they did. Sir John Harvey, who was then lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, submitted the question of responsible

New Brunswick



Sir John Harvey.

government to a vote of the Assembly. Owing to the governor's popularity, the Assembly rejected the proposal by a majority of one. Sir John Harvey's successor, Sir William Colebrooke, was inclined to favour the "Family Compact," yet, in order to gain the confidence of the Assembly, he invited Lemuel A. Wilmot and other Reformers to join his ministry. This coalition did not last long. When the governor, assuming the right to make appointments, made his son-in-law provincial treasurer, the Reform members of the ministry resigned. Three years later, in 1848, the question of responsible government again came to a vote, and was carried by an overwhelming majority, Conservatives and Reformers alike voting in its favour. In the first responsible ministry sat the Reform leader Lemuel A. Wilmot.

In Nova Scotia a different situation existed. The lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell, utterly ignored the wishes of the Assembly. The latter voted want of confidence in the Executive, yet Sir Colin refused to dismiss his unpopular ministers. Indignation was general throughout the province. Howe was still the champion of reform, but he now had a worthy foeman in the person of James W. Johnston, a man respected by the members of both parties. Sir Colin was at length recalled. His successor, Lord Falkland, adopted the plan of a coalition, and invited three Reformers, Howe among them, to join his Council. There was no reconciling such men as Howe and Johnston. They differed on every question, most of all upon matters of education, Howe advocating free common schools and one

Nova Scotia

provincial university, Johnston favouring denominational schools and colleges, state aided. Finally Falkland, giving up his plan of compromise, ranged himself upon the side of the Conservatives. A vacancy occurring in the Council, he appointed a new member upon his own responsibility. Howe and his fellow-reformers at once resigned. Lord Falkland was recalled, and his place taken by Sir John Harvey. In 1847 an election took place in which the Reformers were returned by a large majority. Johnston, the Conservative leader, resigned, and James Boyle Uniacke, a prominent Reformer, was asked to form a ministry. Howe, though deprived of this honour on account of his bitter opposition to the late governor, was given an important place in the new administration.

190. Leaders of the Period. — Thus, by the year 1848, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia enjoyed the advantage of responsible government. Three years later Prince Edward Island also secured a responsible Executive under the leadership of Mr. George Coles. The Constitutional Act had granted the boon of representative institutions, and now the second great principle of popular government had been adopted. The provinces were at last fully self-governing. When this change was complete, the people of the Maritime Provinces could proudly say with Howe, that "not a blow had been struck, nor a pane of glass broken" in the struggle. This contest brought into the field some notable men, whose names should be familiar to all Canadians.

There are few more striking figures in Canadian his-

tory than that of Louis Joseph Papineau. A strong personality and great eloquence enabled him to wield a powerful influence over his fellow-countrymen. He was a born leader of men. Unfortunately, vanity and rashness made his leading unsafe. Papineau came back to Canada after responsible government had been won, and again took his seat in Parliament. But the day of rash statesmanship had passed, and the returned exile found that the people were being guided by men of calm judgment and moderate views, men of whom Lafontaine was a fair type. Retiring at length to his picturesque home, hidden by the overhanging groves of the Ottawa, he passed in peace the closing years of a life which had long been tossed by the storms of politics and rebellion.

Papineau

With the name of Papineau there comes to the mind that of William Lyon Mackenzie, the leader of the Upper Canadian rebellion. The keynote of Mackenzie's career was an intense hatred of all forms of injustice and oppression. He loved political freedom above all things. It was this love of freedom, coupled with a great rashness in speech and action, which hurried him into rebellion against what he considered to be tyranny. Like Papineau, he found, upon his return from exile, that political power had passed into the hands of men who were satisfied with gradual progress in reform. He again entered Parliament, and again published a newspaper, but in both these spheres his influence was gone.

Mackenzie

When Mackenzie was swept off his feet by the tide of rebellion, the fortunes of the more moderate Re-

formers were safely guided by Mr. Robert Baldwin, one of the sanest of Canadian statesmen. After the cause of reform had freed itself from the discredit which the rebellion had brought upon it, he was its recognised champion. His public career, however, was not long. Refusing to abandon his moderate political views, he was soon set aside by his party in favour of a more radical candidate for office. His name will not be forgotten by those who read aright the history of responsible government. Robert Baldwin's most helpful associate in more than one ministry was Mr. Louis H. Lafontaine. This able French Canadian, like most of his fellow countrymen, had been strongly opposed to the union, on the ground that it did injustice to Lower Canada. When once the union was concluded, however, he wisely threw himself in with the movement, and did his best to guard the interests of his province.

ROBERT BALDWIN.

Baldwin and Lafontaine

The triumph of responsible government in the Maritime Provinces will always be associated with the names

of Joseph Howe and Lemuel A. Wilmot. An eloquent orator and a masterly writer, Howe was the life-long champion of the Nova Scotian people, whose cause was ever dear to him. His fidelity, moreover, to the mother country, was worthy of one descended from Loyalist ancestors. Wilmot, also, was the descendant of Loyalists. Eloquence scarcely inferior to Howe's, and wide knowledge, made him a powerful speaker and a successful leader. His valuable services to New Brunswick raised him to the bench, and finally to the office of lieutenant-governor of his province.

Howe and Wilmot

CHAPTER VIII

1812–1841

PROGRESS

191. Settlement. — Between the War of 1812 and the Union the population of the British provinces had increased rapidly. A leap from half a million to one and a half millions gave evidence of progress. The most remarkable increase had been in Upper Canada, whose population was almost five times as great as at the close of the war. Several important cities and towns had their beginning in this period, among others Ottawa (then Bytown), London, Perth, Galt, and Peterborough. An important factor in settlement was the Canada Company, formed through the efforts of John Galt. The Company controlled two and a half million acres, one million of which, lying between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario, was known as the "Huron Tract." The Company did good work in exploring the land under its control, in opening up roads, and also in advertising the province throughout the Old Country. Unfortunately some lands, held for purposes of speculation, stood in the way of settlement. The growth of population in the Maritime Provinces was not so marked, probably because there was no company to advertise the country by the sea, no coloniser like Galt, that worthy successor of Talbot and Selkirk.

192. Transportation. — Improvement in methods of transportation kept pace with the growth of settlement. The bridle-paths, along which the pioneers rode on horseback to church or to visit their neighbours, over which pack-horses carried grain and flour, were forgotten. In their place came log roads, the familiar "corduroy," wide enough for wagons and sleighs. Soon the older settlements enjoyed graded roads, with drains and bridges, improved finally by the use of gravel. Fine roads invited stage-coaches, which were soon running between the larger towns. Upon the waterways, too, change was the order of the day. The canoe was, save for the fur trade, all but a memory. Early in the century the French Canadian *bateaux*, usually forty feet in length and capable of carrying heavy loads of merchandise, came into use. These were towed up rapids or dragged over *portages* by men or oxen. After the war the Durham boats, flat-bottomed barges, heavier than the *bateaux*, propelled by oars or sails, were commonly used on the

Roads

A Stage-coach, Seventy Years ago, before the Railways were Built.

lakes. Next appeared the steamboat. The great inland waterway presented by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was rendered all but useless for heavy traffic by frequent rapids. These obstacles to trade were conquered by the building of canals. The rapids immediately above Montreal were overcome by the Lachine Canal. The Welland Canal, connecting Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, allowed commerce to pass safely by that great natural barrier, the Niagara Falls. The Rideau Canal, between Kingston and Bytown (Ottawa), the work of the imperial government, furnished a waterway free from the dangers of war in case of trouble with the United States.

Canals

Good roads and open waterways produced immediate results of great importance. Passengers and mail were carried regularly between the larger settlements. Even to places off the main routes mail found its way through the services of Indian runners or mounted postmen. Trade, too, began to increase, at least between neighbouring communities. As yet there was practically no commercial intercourse of province with province; none between New Brunswick and the Canadas, and only a little between Nova Scotia and the Canadas, by way of the St. Lawrence. The external trade of the provinces was mainly with Great Britain.

Trade

193. Industries. — Agriculture continued to be the occupation of the majority of the people. To the settlers upon the shores of the Maritime Provinces fishing brought rich returns. The increase of trade with Great Britain gave an impulse to ship-building, and under these conditions the lumbering industry grew rapidly.

During the early part of the century Quebec was the great ship-building centre. Soon, however, the Maritime Provinces, especially Nova Scotia, under the stimulus of an ever increasing trade with the West Indies, took the lead in this industry. Quebec builders had the honour of turning out the *Royal William*, the first Canadian steamer to cross the Atlantic. A few years later the famous Cunard Line was founded. About the same time the *Beaver* was launched upon the Thames, and sent out to British Columbia in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, the pioneer steamer of the northern Pacific.

THE STEAMER *BEAVER*.

194. Education. — Though considerable progress had been made in education, the schools at the time of the union were very primitive, especially those of the rural districts. The teacher was, as a rule, ill-qualified, both in scholarship and in character. Nor was his salary a princely one. He seldom received more than one hundred dollars a term, together with his board. It was the custom to have the teacher "board around," favouring each home of the community in turn. The lot of the pupils was by no means a pleasant one — a log schoolhouse with one wretched room, hot in summer and cold in winter, poor light, and backless seats.

Added to these discomforts was the terror of frequent floggings, for the teacher was very often an old army man, who believed in strict discipline. In spite of these and similar drawbacks, however, interest in higher education was on the increase. In the western province Upper Canada College and Victoria College

First Settlers' Schoolhouse.

were founded; in Nova Scotia, Dalhousie and Acadia colleges.

195. The Churches. — The Roman Catholic Church continued to be all powerful in Lower Canada. The priests ministered faithfully to the people. Every village had its church; every settler, however remote, was regularly visited by the travelling *curé*. Though four-fifths of her subjects were within the one province, the Church of Rome did not neglect the other provinces.

The story of Bishop Macdonell, of the Glengarry Highlanders' settlement, is one of devoted service amid the hardships of pioneer life. Outside of Lower Canada the Church of England was still the strongest religious body. The great missionary societies were liberal in supporting the colonial clergy, and in building churches where the colonists lacked the means to do so. The church buildings were commonly log huts, in which the congregation gathered from great distances. So wide was the territory to be covered and so few were the men, that the preacher became a travelling missionary. But there were many settlers who refused to ally themselves with the Church of England. These were mainly of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, two denominations which, in spite of divisions, made great progress before the union. Upon the political struggle for responsible government the churches exerted a strong influence. A large section of the Church of England, the more conservative Presbyterians, and a small number of the Methodists, were found upon the side of the "Family Compact," while behind the cause of reform stood a small but influential body of Anglicans, the strength of Presbyterianism and Methodism, and the smaller body of Baptists.

CHAPTER IX

1812–1841

THE WEST

196. The Nor'-Westers Hostile to the Selkirk Settlement. — And now to return to the struggling colony upon the banks of the Red River. The Nor'-Westers looked upon the newcomers as intruders and suspected that Lord Selkirk, being a shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, had planted this colony to interfere with the success of the Canadian traders. They were further annoyed by the aggressive policy of the older Company. Selkirk, taking advantage of the discontent among the Nor'-Westers, had induced some of them to enter the service of his own Company. This shrewdness won for the Hudson's Bay Company the services of some of the most daring and progressive traders in the West.

The early years brought trying experiences to the Selkirk settlers. They spent the winters at Pembina hunting the buffalo, returning each spring to the junction of the Red and Assiniboine to sow their patches of grain. So great was the scarcity of food that in the second year the governor, Miles Macdonell, issued a proclamation to the effect that "no provisions, flesh, fish, grain, or vegetables were to be taken out of the lands of the settlement for a year."

Macdonell's proclamation

Nothing more was needed to bring the hostility of the Nor'-Westers to the point of violence. Grand Portage, found to be within United States territory, had been abandoned by the North-West Company. The new headquarters of the Company were located at the mouth of the Kaministiquia, where Fort William was built and named after a leading partner, William McGillivray. Here the partners gathered in great indignation at the news of Macdonell's proclamation. Plans were quickly laid for breaking up the Selkirk colony. To accomplish this object two of the partners were sent to Fort Gibraltar, a North-West Company's post situated half a mile from the settlement. Gradually several of the settlers were bribed or threatened into leaving the colony, being promised a free passage to Canada and a year's support there. At this juncture a band of *Métis*, gathered by one of the Nor'-Westers, made an attack upon the settlement. Four of the defenders were wounded, one of whom died, and Miles Macdonell was seized and sent down to Montreal. The unfortunate settlers were continually fired upon, their houses broken open and plundered, and their cattle driven off. Finally they were forced to withdraw for safety to the north end of Lake Winnipeg.

The settlers driven out

Great was the joy of the Nor'-Westers at Fort William. Yet almost immediately came the news that the colonists had returned, reinforced by another band of immigrants. With the new arrivals came Robert Semple, appointed to control all the factories of Rupert's Land. Meanwhile, Lord Selkirk had arrived in Canada. Hearing at Montreal of the misfor-

The return of the settlers

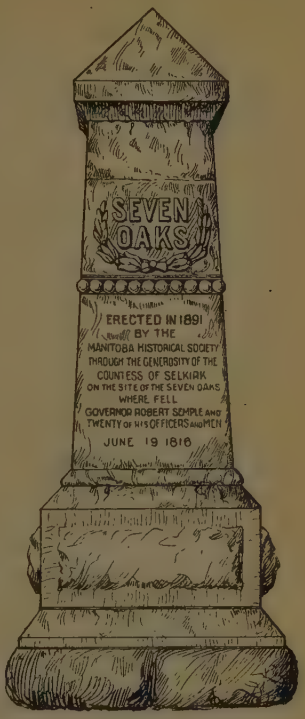
tunes of his colonists, he was all eagerness to bear them aid. Undaunted by the refusal of the governor-general to grant him military support, he engaged the services of a hundred discharged soldiers who had served through the recent war, and set out for the West.

While Lord Selkirk was still upon the way, stirring events were happening in the Red River valley. In the absence of Semple on a tour of inspection, Colin Robertson, commanding Fort Douglas, a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, seized and tore down Fort Gibraltar. The Nor'-Westers thereupon bestirred themselves to destroy the settlement. Half-breeds were summoned from west and north, and by the middle of June, 1816, were gathered in a strong band at Portage la Prairie, under their popular leader, Cuthbert Grant. Upon the 19th, Governor Semple, who had returned to the Red River country, was informed that a body of horsemen was approaching over the prairie. Taking a small force, the governor marched out to inquire the purpose of the intruders. At a spot about two miles from Winnipeg, now marked by the Seven Oaks monument, the two parties met. Semple was disputing with a Nor'-Wester, when sud-

FORT DOUGLAS ON THE RED RIVER.

Seven Oaks, 1816

denly two shots rang out, and the governor and his lieutenant fell. In a few minutes the skirmish was over, and twenty of Semple's followers lay dead or mortally wounded. By this disaster the settlers were again forced to leave their homes, and to seek refuge at the head of Lake Winnipeg. On their way north they were intercepted by a party of Nor'-Westers, and five of their number were arrested and carried off to Fort William.



THE SEVEN OAKS MONUMENT.

The news of Seven Oaks was the signal for fresh rejoicing at Fort William. This post, the centre of the Company's trade, was the meeting-place of the Montreal merchants and the "wintering partners." To the weary *voyageurs* and traders it was a very paradise. Here, when the season's labours and dangers were past, they gathered for rest and entertainment. Within the main building the central dining-hall, capable of accommodating two hundred guests, was the scene of frequent banquets. The yard before the main building presented a wild scene. Here men of every nationality, of every creed, met. Traders and soldiers,

Joy at Fort William

mingling with half-breeds and Indians, were encamped in the open. Dancing, drinking, and singing, they made day and night hideous with their revelry. The news of the second expulsion of the Red River colonists set festivities at Fort William in full swing.

Upon such a scene Lord Selkirk and his force suddenly burst. The indignant nobleman demanded the immediate restoration of the settlers who had been seized upon the Red River. Next, acting in the capacity of magistrate, he ordered the arrest of William McGillivray and several of his fellow-partners. These were sent down to York, Upper Canada, and thence to Montreal. Selkirk, deeming it too late in the season to complete his journey, spent the winter comfortably in the Nor'-Westers' quarters. In the spring he pushed on to the Red River, where he did all in his power to improve the condition of his colony. He restored the ejected colonists to their farms, settled his soldiers about Fort Douglas, and made a treaty with the Indians.

Lord Selkirk to the rescue

When the news of the tragic death of Semple and his men reached England, the imperial government at once ordered the governor-general of Canada to restore order in the West. Both parties to the quarrel were ordered to give up all posts and property seized. Later several Nor'-Westers were brought to trial in connection with the murder of Semple and his followers. The verdict of "not guilty," which caused great surprise in Britain, was due to the strong influence of the North-West Company in Canada. Lord Selkirk, on the other hand, tried on several charges of violence, was convicted and

heavily fined. Shattered in health and disappointed in spirit, the unfortunate coloniser withdrew to the south of France, where he died in 1820. Selkirk's death, though to be regretted, was beneficial to the West, removing as it did the last obstacle in the way of a union of the fur companies. In the following year the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company became one, under the name of the former. The long-standing rivalry of the fur traders, fatal to order and injurious to the morals of the Indians, was at an end.

Death of Selkirk

Union of the fur companies, 1821

197. Sir George Simpson's Administration.—After the union the management of the Company's affairs rested with an official known as the governor of Rupert's Land, assisted by a Council of chief factors and traders. A strong man was needed for the governorship, and such an one was found in the person of a young Scotsman named George Simpson, a clerk in a London counting-house. For forty years Simpson guided the fortunes of the Company. Small of stature, he yet

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.

had "the self-possession of an emperor." His energy was unfailing. Every year he made the journey from Montreal to the distant West by the fur traders' route, inspecting the most remote posts, and on several occasions crossing the Rocky Mountains. To the enterprise of the Hudson's Bay Company, in no small measure, Great Britain owes her control of the Pacific coast. From the north Russia, from the south the United States, were pressing rival claims which threatened to shut out Great Britain altogether from the sea. Under Simpson's aggressive administration the country between the Rockies and the Pacific was occupied. Upon the coast there were six permanent trading-posts, and in the interior sixteen. These trading interests were protected on the side of the ocean by a fleet of six armed vessels. Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River became the centre of the Company's coast trade.

198. Progress of the Selkirk Settlement. — Meanwhile the Selkirk settlement was winning its way to prosperity. The population, composed at the outset of two hundred Scottish and Irish settlers, one hundred German soldiers, and a number of French traders and half-breeds, was steadily increasing. The hardships of pioneer life in eastern Canada were here repeated. Spade and hoe, sickle and cradle, flail and quern — made of two flat stones between which the grain was crushed — all told of the day of small things. The land was just beginning to yield a scanty living to the persevering farmers, when a series of disasters swept away the fruits of patient labour. For three years in succession clouds of grasshoppers descended upon

The grasshoppers

the land, making of the fields a "desolate wilderness." A few years later the river overflowed its banks and swept over the fields, driving back the settlers to the neighbouring heights, and carrying off houses and barns. The courage of the settlers, however, was equal to all these misfortunes, and brought them through to better days.

The flood

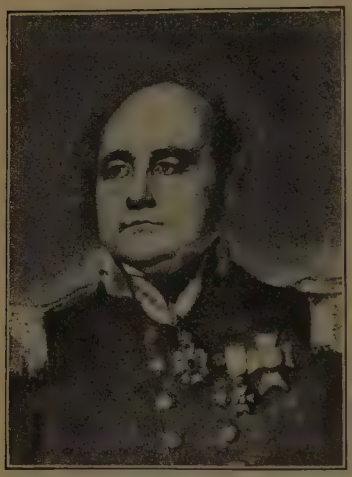
For many years the government of the colony was in the hands of the local governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Growth made a change necessary. The Council of Assiniboia, composed of fourteen members and having Sir George Simpson for president, was appointed by the Company. This arrangement was not altogether satisfactory. The people complained that the councillors were paid servants of the Company, and did not, therefore, represent the popular will. Discontent was a sign of progress, a sign that the settlement was growing beyond the control of a fur company. The historic centre of the colony was Fort Garry, built first at the union of the companies, and rebuilt a few years later. A weather-beaten gateway still stands to mark the scene of the pioneer settlement of the West.

Fort Garry

199. The Mystery of the North-West Passage Solved. — The North-West passage by water was still a mystery, yet repeated failures to solve it had in no way dampened the ardour of Arctic exploration. While voyages were made by sea, expeditions continued to be sent through northern Canada to explore the Arctic coast-line. The names of Franklin, Back, Simpson, Dease, and Rae form the honour roll

Franklin

of these northern explorers. When finally Sir John Franklin sailed with the *Erebus* and *Terror* into the frozen North, his friends little thought that he was never to return. No less than fifteen search parties were sent out within six years to seek the lost seaman. Twelve years after Franklin's departure from England, searchers came upon the skeletons and relics which told of the fate of the ill-starred crews. As a result of all these expeditions by sea and land, it was known that there was a passage by water from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but that it was blocked with ice. The gain to Great Britain from the search for the North-West passage was a definite knowledge of the northern coast of the American continent.



Sir John Franklin.

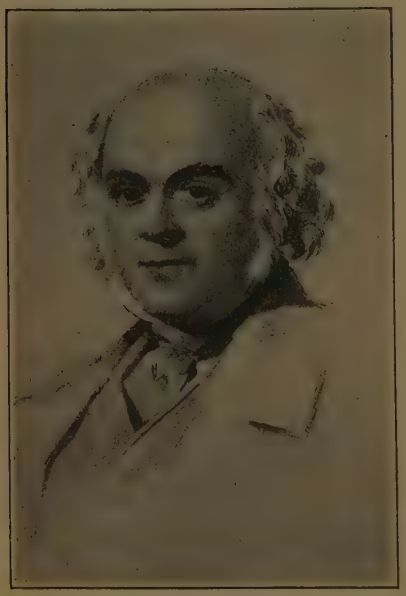
CHAPTER X

BETWEEN UNION AND CONFEDERATION

200. The Fruits of Responsible Government. — The provinces were now enjoying the fruits of responsible government, — control through the Executive of all appointments, of crown lands and the "civil list." Having once recognised the right of the provinces to self-government, Great Britain made even further concessions. The most important of these was the surrender of tariff control. Hitherto Great Britain had held a monopoly of colonial trade. According to the "Navigation Laws" none but British-built ships could carry goods to and from the colonies. Colonial tariffs were fixed by the home government, although the proceeds were spent upon the colonies. For some years a movement had been on foot to establish free trade, and in 1846 the British markets were thrown open to the world. At the same time the provinces were given the power to repeal any tariff acts which had been passed by the imperial government. Three years later the "Navigation Laws" were repealed, and the provinces left free to control their own trade. In the same year Great Britain turned over to the provinces the entire control of the postal service. It was this liberal treatment which made it possible for George Brown, speaking a year later, to say of Great Britain, "Frankly and generously she has,

one by one, surrendered all the rights which were once held necessary to the condition of a colony — the patronage of the Crown, the right over the public domain, the civil list, the customs, the post-office, have all been relinquished."

201. The Rebellion Losses Bill, 1849. — No sooner was the principle of responsible government adopted than it was seriously threatened in the Canadian Legislature. The Reformers introduced a measure which proposed to vote a sum of money to compensate the loyal subjects of Lower Canada for their losses during the rebellion. This proposal, as we have already noted, raised a storm of opposition. "No pay to rebels" was the cry of the opposition. Yet the measure was passed and submitted to Lord Elgin for his signature. Every effort was made to induce the governor to exercise his power of veto. It was a critical moment for responsible government. To veto a bill which had met with the approval of a majority of the Legislature would be to ignore responsibility in government. Fortunately Lord Elgin



LORD ELGIN.

was firm, and signed. When the news spread that the Rebellion Losses Bill had been signed by the governor, Montreal became the scene of a disgraceful riot. As Lord Elgin drove away from the Parliament Buildings, a mob followed his carriage, pelting it with stones and rotten eggs. The rioters next turned their attention to the Buildings, which they quickly cleared and set on fire. In a few hours the House, its library, and the state records were in ashes.

The Montreal riot

Disgraced by the destructive act of her disorderly citizens, Montreal forfeited the right to be the seat of government. For several years Parliament was a homeless wanderer, meeting alternately in Toronto and Quebec, for a term of four years in each place. Finally, the queen was asked to choose a permanent place of meeting, and in 1858 her choice was made public. Bytown, a village on the Ottawa River, became the capital. The name of Bytown gave place to that of Ottawa, by which the present capital of Canada is so well known to the world. The queen's choice was a wise one. The selection of any one of the older cities would have aroused the jealousy of the others. Moreover, standing back from the frontier, Ottawa was removed from the dangers to which the border towns were exposed in times of war.

Ottawa, the new capital

202. A Remarkable Year. — The year 1854 was marked by events of great importance. Standing in the way of progress were two obstacles: the "Clergy Reserves" and the Seigniorial Tenure. The discontent arising from these two questions had been steadily growing, until in this year the government — the MacNab-

Morin ministry, including John A. Macdonald — was forced to take action. Upon the same day bills were passed dealing with both matters. The "Clergy Reserves" were secularised, and all connection between church and state was thereby brought to an end. The change was made with great fairness, and in a way which seemed to satisfy all parties concerned. The rectories which had been built and endowed were left untouched, and the remainder of the funds arising from the "Reserves" was divided among the municipalities, to be used in the interests of education, or for purposes of local improvements. In Lower Canada, the Seigniorial Tenure, which had always been an obstacle to the development of an independent farming class, was abolished. The seigniors were, of course, recompensed for the surrender of their rights, the burden of expense falling almost entirely upon the government.

The "Clergy Reserves" secularised

The Seigniorial Tenure abolished

In the same year in which the "Clergy Reserves" were secularised and the Seigniorial Tenure was abolished, free trade was established between the British provinces and the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty, which brought about this change, arranged for an exchange of the products of the sea, the field, the forest, and the mine. The Americans were admitted to Canadian fisheries, and also to the navigation of Canadian rivers and canals. The new arrangement was beneficial to both countries, the Canadian farmers, miners, and lumbermen finding it especially profitable. The treaty was to remain in force for

The Reciprocity Treaty

ten years, at the end of which time either country could bring it to a close by giving a year's notice.

203. The Province of British Columbia Formed. — During this period the foundations of another province were laid in the far West. For a time the outlook in the western land was darkened by the danger of war over a boundary dispute. For years the forty-ninth parallel had been regarded as the boundary line across the western half of the continent. The question, however, was still an open one. Gradually the people of the United States began to claim all the Pacific coast line up to the southern boundary of Alaska, which then belonged to Russia. "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" became the warlike cry of the claimants. Fortunately it proved to be neither "fifty-four forty" nor "fight." By the Oregon Treaty, 1846, the forty-ninth parallel became the permanent boundary line.

The Oregon Treaty

In the trading-posts founded by the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies, the foundations of the Pacific province were laid. As immigration was setting in to the western United States, the population north of the boundary line naturally began to increase. The Hudson's Bay Company, upon the strength of what it had done on the mainland, asked the British government for a grant of Vancouver Island. Lord Elgin, having heard that the Company's rule in the West had tended to the maintenance of order, reported in favour of the grant. In 1849 the island was handed over to the Company for ten years, on the condition that colonisation should be encouraged. It was soon found, however, that the Company had no intention of

promoting settlement, as it interfered with the fur trade. Only the poorest land was offered for sale, and that at a very high price. The Company's monopoly of the mines kept out miners who would otherwise have entered the country. Even the necessaries of life could be bought only at the Company's stores, where high prices were charged. In 1859 Vancouver became a Crown colony, with Victoria as its capital. Mr. James Douglas, later Sir James, who had acted as governor for the Company, continued in office under the Crown. The years 1856 and 1857 witnessed a great change upon the mainland. The discovery of gold in the sands of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers was the signal for an inrush of fortune hunters. To maintain order in a district made lawless by the presence of so many miners, a separate government was formed, with headquarters at the busy mining town of New Westminster. Thus was the province of British Columbia formed. In 1866 Vancouver was made part of British Columbia, and Victoria became the provincial capital.

SIR JAMES DOUGLAS.

CHAPTER XI

CONFEDERATION

SECTION I

THE CONFEDERATION MOVEMENT

204. Union Sentiment in the Canadas. — The idea of a federal union — one in which there would be a central government, while each province retained a local parliament — was by no means a new one. As far back as the opening of the century it had been suggested by more than one far-seeing Loyalist. Lord Durham recommended union, and from his day on the word was continually upon the lips of statesmen both in the Maritime Provinces and in Canada. Friction between the upper and lower sections of Canada was yearly increasing. Their representation in the union parliament was, as we have seen, equal. The population of Upper Canada had increased very rapidly, so that within fifteen years after the union it exceeded that of Lower Canada by two hundred and fifty thousand. Upper Canada, quick to see the injustice of equal representation under such conditions, began to clamour for a change. Representation by population, familiarly called "Rep. by Pop.," became the cry of the day. George Brown steadily advocated this claim through the columns of the *Globe*.

"Rep. by Pop."

In Parliament the parties were so evenly balanced that deadlock became a common experience. Between 1861–1864 four or five ministries held office. John A. Macdonald in describing the situation said: "We had election after election, we had ministry after ministry, with the same result. Parties were so equally balanced that the vote of one member might decide the fate of the administration." Under these circumstances the idea of a federal union of the Canadas naturally suggested itself to the minds of statesmen. Out of the idea of a federal union of two provinces gradually grew the greater one, of a union of all the provinces. But the Maritime Provinces, prosperous and contented with their newly acquired privilege of responsible government, were not yet ready to consider such a gigantic scheme. Not for several years was confederation to be realised; yet in the interval the idea of union was never lost sight of by clear-sighted statesmen. In every province there were men

CHARLES TUPPER.

A federal union suggested

who fostered the cause of union — men of all parties and creeds. In Canada Brown and Macdonald, in the Maritime Provinces Tilley and Tupper, were to join hands from opposite parties to realise their common aim of uniting the provinces.

205. Union Sentiment in the Maritime Provinces. — Events soon forced the question of union upon the attention of the Maritime Provinces. In 1861 war broke out between the Northern and Southern States over the question of slavery. Great Britain and her colonies remained neutral. One incident, however, threatened to drag Great Britain into the war. A British mail steamship, the *Trent*, conveying two Southern commissioners to England, was boarded by the captain of a Northern man-of-war, and the Southerners were arrested. Great Britain demanded the surrender of the captives, threatening war in case her demand was not granted. Fortunately, the American government gave up the commissioners, and

The "Trent affair"

GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER.

more serious trouble was averted. The mere possibility of war with the United States impressed upon the Maritime Provinces the advantage of union. Yet the impulse to unite fell short of the larger scheme of a federation of all the provinces, and tended toward the union of the Maritime Provinces only. The idea of a maritime union took practical form in 1864, when delegates from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island met at Charlottetown. The fact that the delegations included both Reformers and Conservatives proved that the movement was not one of party.

The Charlottetown conference

GEORGE BROWN.

Meanwhile the cause of union was gaining ground in Canada. It was becoming impossible for any government to maintain a majority. At last, in 1864, when the Conservative ministry was defeated, Mr. George Brown, setting aside party feeling, proposed to its members that a joint ministry be formed with a view to pressing the plan of union. The proposal was acted upon, and the coalition ministry

pledged itself to bring before Parliament a measure to secure the federal union of Upper and Lower Canada, and to provide for the admission of the other provinces. When the Canadian statesmen heard of the meeting which was being held at Charlottetown, they asked permission to join therein. The request was granted, and eight representatives, including John A. Macdonald, George Brown, and George E. Cartier, were sent to Charlottetown. The grander scheme of confederation overshadowed that of local union, and it was decided to hold a second conference at Quebec later in the season.

206. The Fathers of Confederation. — In the following month the Quebec conference met. Thirty-three delegates, representing Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, gathered in the Parliament Buildings of the historic capital of New France. Of French, English, Scotch, and Irish descent were these "Fathers of Confederation," a fitting body to deal with the question of a union of all the British North American provinces. Nor could a more suitable chairman have been chosen than Etienne Paschal Taché, a veteran of the War of 1812, who expressed the loyalty of his fellow-countrymen when he said that "the last gun that would be fired for British supremacy in America would be fired by a French Canadian." The most prominent member of the gathering was undoubtedly John A. Macdonald, who had already played an important part in Canadian affairs and was to share in still greater events. His keen insight into character and his wide knowledge of the

The Quebec conference

Taché

Macdonald

working of British institutions fitted him for leadership. From the moment the confederation movement began, he never ceased to be its central figure. George Etienne Cartier had long been associated in public life with Macdonald. He had, it is true, taken some part in the Lower Canadian rebellion of 1837, but later, repenting of his youthful folly, he had rendered faithful service to his province under the union. It was mainly Cartier's wise and tactful leading which brought Lower Canada into confederation, and his watchful care which protected the interests of that province. Upper Canada had no more faithful representative than George Brown. Mr. Brown was a Liberal of a pronounced type, but it will always be remembered to his honour that he forgot party in his desire to bring about union. The delegation from Canada included several other well-known men — Alexander T. Galt, a master of finance, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, poet, historian, and orator, William McDougall, another distinguished son of Loyalists, and Oliver Mowat, later lieutenant-governor of Ontario.

Cartier

Brown

Among the Nova Scotian representatives were Charles Tupper and Adams G. Archibald. Dr. Tupper's force and readiness in debate had early brought him into prominence as leader of the Conservative party, in which position he frequently pitted his strength against Howe, whose lifelong opponent he was. New Brunswick's delegation was headed by Samuel Leonard Tilley, a man who stood high in the public life of his province, and whose ability later won him the position of finance minister of the

Tupper

Tilley

Dominion. Prince Edward Island was represented by Colonel Gray and George Coles, the latter the father of responsible government in his province. Newfoundland sent Frederick Carter as delegate. No greater achievement has marked the progress of our country than the uniting of the British North American provinces; there are no names more worthy of a high place in the memory of Canadians than those of the "Fathers of Confederation."

JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD.

The conference unanimously resolved, "That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a federal union under the crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several provinces." The debate lasted eighteen days, and its results were summed up in seventy-two resolutions. The conference had declared in favour of confederation; it remained to be seen how the plan would be regarded by the British government and by each of the provinces.

Its reception was varied. By the British government it was gladly welcomed, as also by Upper and Lower Canada. Newfoundland rejected the proposal entirely, and, adhering to this decision, still stands alone. New Brunswick at an early election declared against confederation, but a year later reconsidered the matter, and gave a decided majority in favour. Nova Scotia, influenced by the action of New Brunswick, wavered at first, but finally the Legislature passed a resolution in favour of union. The fact that the question was not put to a vote of the people led to trouble later. Prince Edward Island decided to remain independent. Delegates from the four provinces favourable to confederation were sent to London to secure an act of union from the imperial government. From the opposition faction in Nova Scotia went Joseph Howe to oppose the movement. The efforts of Howe were unavailing; the act was framed in spite of Nova Scotia's protest.

The action of the provinces

SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY.

207. The Cause of Union Strengthened. — Meanwhile events were happening which had an important bearing upon the cause of confederation. What argument failed to do in overcoming opposition to the movement, the action of a foreign power did most effectually. The American government suddenly gave notice that the Reciprocity Treaty would terminate in a year, thinking thereby to force the British provinces into annexation in order to save their trade. Congress even offered favourable terms of annexation, proposing to receive the provinces as so many States of the Union. This action had the sole effect of binding the provinces more closely together, and of making them depend more upon one another and upon Great Britain for their trade. The union movement was still further strengthened by the illegal action of the Fenian Brotherhood, an organisation of discontented Irishmen, which undertook to conquer Canada as a step toward the freeing of Ireland. It was little to the honour of the American government that these rascals were allowed to arm and drill their forces within the borders of the United States. The most determined of the Fenian raids was that made in 1866 upon the Niagara peninsula. Crossing from Buffalo, the invaders advanced to destroy the Welland Canal. At Ridgeway they met and drove back a detachment of Canadian militia which had hurriedly been despatched to meet them. Hearing of the approach of a large force of militia and regulars, with cavalry and artillery, the Fenians quickly retreated across the river.

The Reciprocity Treaty at an end

The Fenian raids

Ridgeway

THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION. (See p. 417.)

Section 2. 1867

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT

208. The Act passed, 1867. — Meanwhile, the labours of the provincial delegates in London were drawing to a close. The Quebec resolutions, modified so as to grant the Maritime Provinces more favourable terms, were submitted to the imperial Parliament; and in March, 1867, the British North America Act, familiarly called the "B. N. A. Act," was passed. "The provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick," the act reads, "shall form and be one Dominion under the name of Canada." "The parts of the province of Canada, which formerly constituted respectively the provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, shall form two separate provinces." The names Upper Canada and Lower Canada gave place to those of Ontario and Quebec.

209. The Terms of the Act. — Under the constitution founded by the British North America Act, the sovereign was to be represented in the new Dominion by a governor-general. The appointment of this official rested with the sovereign. To advise the governor-general there was a Cabinet or Executive Council of thirteen members, responsible to the people's representatives in Parliament.

The governor and his Council

The Dominion Legislature included two bodies, — the Senate and the House of Commons. The senators were not elected, but appointed for life by the governor-in-council — the governor acting upon the advice of his council. There was an equal repre-

The Senate

sentation of the three great divisions of the Dominion, — Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces.

The House of Commons

The House of Commons was to be elected by the people for a term of five years. The provinces were represented according to population. The representation of Quebec was to remain fixed at sixty-five members. The representation of each other province was to bear the same relation to sixty-five as its population bore to that of Quebec.

210. A Federal Union Defined. — The union brought about by the British North America Act was *federal*, as distinct from *legislative*. The union of Upper and Lower Canada, in 1841, was legislative. Each province gave up its local parliament, and elected representatives to a joint legislature. Under confederation, on the other hand, each province retained its local government, while sending representatives to the Dominion Legislature. The provincial legislatures controlled all matters of purely local interest; the central government attended to questions which affected the Dominion as a whole.

Dominion Day

The British North America Act came into force on the first day of July, 1867. This birthday of the Dominion was duly celebrated throughout the four provinces, and the First of July has since that time been observed as a national holiday.

Section 3. 1867–1873

The Expansion of Confederation

211. Rupert's Land and the North-West transferred to Canada. — Only four provinces — Ontario, Quebec,

BY THE QUEEN!

A PROCLAMATION

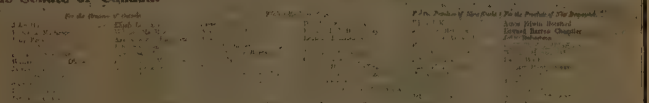
For Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, into one Dominion, under the name of CANADA.

VICTORIA R.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament, passed on the Twenty-ninth day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, in the Thirtieth year of Our reign, intituled, "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith," after divers recitals it is enacted that "it shall "be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's "Most Honorable Privy Council, to declare, by Proclamation, that "on and after a day therein appointed, not being more than six "months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, "Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, shall form and be One Domi- "nion under the name of Canada, and on and after that day those "Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that "Name accordingly; and it is thereby further enacted, that "Such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen "by Warrant, under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thinks fit "to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's "Proclamation of Union:"

We, therefore, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, and We do ordain, declare, and command that on and after the First day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, shall form and be One Dominion, under the name of CANADA.

And we do further ordain and declare that the persons whose names are herein inserted and set forth are the persons of whom we have by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual thought fit to approve as the persons who shall be first summoned to the Senate of Canada.



Given at our Court, at Windsor Castle, this Twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, and in the Thirtieth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

THE PROCLAMATION BRINGING THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT INTO EFFECT.

Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick — took part in the celebration of the First of July, 1867. There was every prospect, however, that the bounds of the Dominion would soon be extended both in the east and in the west. The British North America Act, in fact, made provision for the admission at any time of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Rupert's Land, and the North-West Territories.

During the first session of the Dominion Parliament, upon the motion of the Hon. William McDougall, the British government was asked to hand over to Canada Rupert's Land and the North-West. It was claimed that the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, an organisation interested in trade alone, did not tend to the general development of the country. A strong argument in support of Canada's request was the fact that the extension of the Dominion westwards would be a safeguard against any aggression of the United States in that direction. Under wise pressure from the British government, the Hudson's Bay Company finally surrendered to Canada its control of Rupert's Land and its monopoly of trade. The Company, in return, received the sum of £300,000, one-twentieth of all land lying south of the north branch of the Saskatchewan River and west of Lake Winnipeg, thereafter surveyed for settlement, and also retained its posts and trading privileges. Thus did this great Company, after two centuries of uninterrupted authority, become a private commercial concern, although still the greatest in the West. Whatever may be said in criticism of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the

The Hudson's Bay Company bought out

lesser organisations which it had absorbed, one fact should be remembered, namely, that it was by the energy and daring of their chief factors and explorers that the West was held for Great Britain.

212. The Red River Rebellion. — To-day about half a million people dwell between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, a scanty population for a land so vast. Yet what a change since confederation! Then the only

WINNIPEG IN 1869.

occupants of the broad prairies were roving bands of Indians, a few scattered traders, and twelve thousand settlers in the valley of the Red River. Ten of these twelve thousand were half-breeds, some of Scottish descent, speaking English, others French both in origin and speech. Into this community, without warning, flocked Canadian surveyors to lay out roads and townships. The country had been handed over to Canada, and the interests of the natives were to be sacrificed. Such was the thought of the half-breed element. The presence in the colony of several Fenians and American

annexationists added to the general discontent. The storm centre was the French half-breed party, the *Métis*, led by Louis Riel. Riel was the son of a white father and a half-breed mother, and had been educated in Montreal for the priesthood. Fluency of speech and magnetism of manner gave him ready control over his compatriots; unchecked ambition and extraordinary vanity blinded him to the folly of resisting the authority of the Dominion. There was no one in the colony to restrain his madness. But for the courage and tact of Donald A. Smith, acting as the agent of the Dominion government, affairs might have taken a worse turn than they did. Archbishop Taché, than whom none exerted greater influence over the *Métis*, was absent in Rome, and did not return until the frenzy of rebellion had spent itself in murder.

Louis Riel

The news that the Hon. William McDougall was on his way to the Red River to assume the governorship was the signal for the rising. Riel and his followers seized Fort Garry, and set up the so-called "Provisional Government." McDougall was stopped at the boundary line and forbidden to enter the country. Fortunately the would-be governor obeyed, and there was every prospect of a bloodless settlement of the difficulty, when a sudden fit of madness on Riel's part precipitated a tragedy. Among some prisoners whom the latter had thrust into Fort Garry, as enemies of the "Provisional Government," was a young Ontario immigrant named Thomas Scott. This unfortunate youth, Riel picked out to be his instrument in terrorising his opponents. Court-

The "Provisional Government"

martialled and condemned upon the charge of treason, Scott was led out before the walls of Fort Garry and shot. The news of this brutal murder raised a storm of indignation in eastern Canada. A force of seven hundred regulars and volunteers was chosen to proceed at once to the scene of the rebellion. A toilsome and dangerous journey by way of Lake Superior and the fur traders' route was skilfully conducted by Colonel Garnet Wolseley. At the approach of the troops all military ardour and pride of office died down within Riel's breast. He promptly fled from the scene of his transient glory to find a refuge in the United States.

The rebellion crushed

213. **The Province of Manitoba Formed, 1870.** — Out of the strife of rebellion arose a new province. Even while Wolseley's force was on its way to Fort Garry, the Manitoba Act was passed by the Canadian Parliament. By this act Manitoba was admitted into confederation as a full-fledged province. The claims of the half-breeds were fully met, one million four hundred thousand acres of land being set apart for that purpose. Many of Wolseley's men remained in the new province to share in its making. The little settlement about Fort Garry was soon transformed into the populous city of Winnipeg, a monument to the foresight of that patriotic coloniser, Lord Selkirk. Manitoba drew her first governor from the far East, in the person of a distinguished Nova Scotian, Adams G. Archibald.

The Manitoba Act

Arms of Manitoba.

214. British Columbia enters Confederation, 1871. — A year later the westward expansion of confederation was continued. With the admission of British Columbia the Dominion had run its course from ocean to ocean. The Pacific province, larger than the four original members of confederation, is commonly described as a "sea of mountains," but this description conveys no idea of the wealth of the country. Forests of the grandest timber, untold mineral wealth, rich though scanty farm land, all these resources have already attracted many immigrants, and will attract more in the future. The entry of British Columbia into confederation was made subject to a very important condition, namely, that a transcontinental railroad should be begun within two years and completed within ten years from the date of union. As it turned out, fifteen years were to elapse before this gigantic undertaking was carried through, but with the driving of the last spike British Columbia was bound by the strongest bond to the Dominion.

ARMS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

215. Prince Edward Island enters Confederation, 1873. — In 1873 Prince Edward Island, repenting of its rejection of the scheme of confederation, entered the Dominion. Throughout the whole course of the island's history the ownership of land had never ceased to be a vexed question. To settle the matter, the Dominion government voted

ARMS OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

$800,000 to buy out the rights of the absentee proprietors. The tenants were now in a position to purchase, on reasonable terms, the lands which they occupied.

The cause of union had triumphed. In all the provinces the obstacles had been great, but in all the faith of patriotic statesmen had been greater. The young Dominion stretched across a continent, looking out to east and west upon an ocean. Newfoundland alone stood aloof.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS, 1841–1867

216. Increase of Population.—Of the increasing prosperity of the British provinces between the union and confederation there is no more striking evidence than the growth of population. The population had more than doubled; roughly speaking, it had increased from one and a half to three and a half millions. Villages had grown into towns, and towns into cities. Hamilton, Ottawa, London, and Kingston had taken their place among the cities, while Halifax, St. John, Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec had as early as the year 1861 attained populations ranging from twenty-five to fifty thousand. Not the old settlements alone benefited by the immigration of this period. In the "back country" north and west, behind Ottawa, Kingston, Peterborough, and the Huron Tract, new counties were being opened up.

217. Industrial Progress.—Of the adult male population of the provinces six years before confederation over three hundred thousand were farmers and two hundred thousand labourers, including lumbermen. There were about one hundred thousand mechanics, while the fisheries and commerce occupied the attention of fifty thousand. Agriculture, as these figures show, continued to be the leading industry of the country.

More modern implements and a more intelligent knowledge of the soil and climate were beginning to produce better results. A change was coming over the face of the land. The forests, which had in the pioneer days grudgingly given way to the little "clearings," were rapidly receding before the axe of the farmer, eager to widen his fields, and of the lumberman seeking timber to satisfy the growing demands of the ship-builders.

Trade flourished in all the provinces. The exports were still mainly farm products, lumber, and, from Nova Scotia, fish. A few mines had been opened, and the mineral output, though small, gave promise of rich returns in the near future. Under the Reciprocity Treaty, from 1854 to 1866, the trade of British North America developed very rapidly. There was, however, one serious disadvantage connected with reciprocity. The provinces were brought to trade separately with the United States, while interprovincial trade quickly declined. It was clear that only an intercolonial railway could remedy this defect.

Trade

218. Transportation.—It was above all the era of railway building. In 1850 there were about fifty miles of railroads in British North America; in 1867 no less than three thousand. The passing of an act guaranteeing the payment of the interest on all loans to roads over seventy miles in length, furnished the necessary incentive. Even before the union, the question of an intercolonial railway to connect the Maritime Provinces with Canada had been discussed. Lord Durham, as we have seen, recommended a railway as a practical means of binding the provinces

Railways

together. Shortly after the union the matter was taken up in earnest by the provinces, and the British government was asked to grant financial support. Difficulty arose over the choice of a route for the proposed road. There were two possible, one by the valley of the River St. John, passing through St. John and Fredericton, the other following the north-west shore. Great Britain was interested in securing a line, removed from the American boundary, suited to the transportation of military supplies in the event of war. New Brunswick naturally favoured the St. John route. Nothing came of these early efforts to build an Intercolonial railway, but the provinces, having failed in the greater undertaking, set about constructing such local roads as were needed. In the Maritime Provinces one line was soon opened between St. John and Shediac; another connected Windsor and Truro with Halifax. In Canada the Grand Trunk and the Great Western joined the larger centres of population. The advent of the railway worked a marvellous change. Here and there along the newly laid roads little villages sprang into existence. The farmers, hitherto exiled more by imperfect means of transportation than by distance, were brought into convenient connection with the markets of the towns and cities. Associated with the development of the railway system was the building of two great bridges, one over the Niagara gorge, the other spanning the St. Lawrence at Montreal.

The canal system, upon which so much money had been spent in the previous period, was greatly improved before confederation. The opening of several smaller

canals along the St. Lawrence, and the improvement of the Welland, furnished a waterway from Lake Huron to the sea for all vessels of moderate draught. The advantage arising from this improved water route was all the greater by reason of the increase in the number of steamboats plying back and forth upon the Great Lakes. In 1852 the British government offered a liberal subsidy to encourage the establishment of a trans-atlantic steamship line from Montreal to Liverpool. The offer resulted in the founding four years later of the famous Allan Line.

Waterways

EGERTON RYERSON.

219. Education.—In the field of education there was a general awakening after the Union. In Upper Canada, Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, who had been appointed Superintendent of Education, laid the foundations of a public school system. The people were brought to realise the importance of education, and into each municipality the principle of voluntary taxation to maintain schools was introduced. Every effort was put forth to secure a more general attendance of pupils. The greatest obstacle to educa-

Dr. Ryerson

tional progress up to this time had been the difficulty of securing qualified teachers. This obstacle disappeared with the opening of a normal school for training purposes.

The facilities for higher education were also increasing. The gap between the public schools and the colleges was bridged by the founding of grammar or high schools. Another man who took a special interest in education was Bishop Strachan. His ambition, to establish a Church of England University, was attained in 1843, when King's College was founded. However, the opposition to a Church of England college was so strong that the new institution was soon made undenominational, and renamed the University of Toronto. Refusing to abandon his ideal, Bishop Strachan hastened to England to collect funds for a new denominational institution, and two years later he saw the reward of his labours in the establishment of Trinity College. Queen's and Ottawa Colleges were also founded during this period.

Bishop Strachan

To speak of the educational progress of the other provinces would be to repeat what has been said of Upper Canada. Everywhere the foundations of a public school system were laid, the people were trained to assume the financial responsibility connected with education, normal schools were opened, and high schools and universities founded. In Lower Canada, Laval at Quebec, and McGill at Montreal, guarded the interests of higher education, while in the Maritime Provinces the colleges founded early in the century continued to meet the educational needs of the day.

220. The Churches. — The pioneer work of the churches was beginning to bear fruit. In many towns the old frame buildings had disappeared, and in their place stood handsome brick structures, while some of the larger cities were adorned with imposing stone edifices. Local colleges furnished home-trained ministers. More and more, congregations were becoming self-supporting, and engaging the services of settled ministers. Except in the back counties and throughout the West, travelling missionaries were seldom seen. It was a period of universal growth. The Church of Rome added to its membership five hundred thousand converts, the Methodist body three hundred and twenty thousand, the Presbyterian Church two hundred thousand, and the Church of England one hundred and sixty thousand. One favourable sign of the religious activity of the period was the general interest taken in the missions of the West. All denominations, but especially the Roman Catholic and Anglican and Presbyterian, gave liberally to the West both money and men, in a common effort to Christianise the Indians and to guard the morals of the traders and settlers who were there seeking wealth or homes.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DOMINION

SECTION I. 1867–1885

THE BUILDING OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY

221. The First Dominion Government. — Dominion Day, 1867, ushers us into a new era of Canadian history. The War of 1812 revealed the unity in feeling of the British North American provinces, but distance, lack of ready means of communication, and local interests stood in the way of actual union. The British North America Act, followed by the building of an intercolonial railway, brought about the union which already existed, at least in sentiment. Only a century separated the fall of Quebec and the founding of the Dominion, yet that century witnessed great strides of progress. Isolated settlements had grown into provinces; provinces had become self-governing, winning first a representative Assembly, and later a responsible Executive, and finally the provinces had sought the strength of union. Confederation gave a united people to the British Empire. The course of events since confederation has tended to strengthen the bonds of union. Without interfering with the local rule of the provinces, a strong central government has been

A new era

established, which guides the affairs of the Canadian people as a whole.

Lord Monck, the first governor-general of the Dominion, called upon Sir John A. Macdonald, who had been knighted for his valuable services in connection with the confederation movement, to form a new government. In doing so Sir John employed great tact. The union had been the work, not of one party, but of both; the new government should, therefore, include both Conservatives and Reformers. "I desire," said the new premier, "to bring to my aid, without respect to parties, gentlemen who were active in bringing about the new form of government . . . and who wish to see it satisfactorily carried out." Six Reformers and six Conservatives were summoned to act with the premier in the first Cabinet. Similarly the parties were equally represented in the Senate, there being thirty-six Conservatives and thirty-six Reformers. In its first session the Dominion Parliament took up matters of great moment. The question of a railway, so vital to the permanence of confederation, came up for discussion. The outcome was the construction of the Intercolonial Railway between the maritime and the upper provinces. Another question considered was the addition to Canada of the western territory controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company. The success which attended this movement of expansion in the West has already been noted.

A union government

The Intercolonial Railway

The harmony of the union was marred by one jarring note, the cry of Nova Scotia for the repeal of the British North America Act. The people of that province were

opposed to confederation. They had not been consulted in the matter, and in addition, they felt that they had not been fairly treated in the arrangement of the terms upon which the province had entered the Dominion. Joseph Howe was at once placed at the head of the movement for repeal. His personal magnetism was so powerful, and the popular indignation so great that the Conservatives were overwhelmed. At the first election for the House of Commons, Dr. Tupper alone, of all the candidates who favoured confederation, was elected, while at the local elections, which took place on the same day, only two Conservatives succeeded in securing seats. The new Legislature immediately sent a delegation, headed by Howe, to ask the home government for permission to withdraw from the Dominion. On behalf of the Dominion, Dr. Tupper was sent to London to oppose the wishes of the Legislature. It was a battle royal between these two able and patriotic Nova Scotians, but fortunately for the Dominion and for Nova Scotia Howe was defeated. The imperial government refused its consent to the withdrawal of the disaffected province. Howe soon saw that further protest was useless, and now bent all his energies to the securing of better terms for his province. The Dominion government was willing, new arrangements satisfactory to Nova Scotia were made, and Howe accepted a seat in the Dominion Cabinet. Four years later he was appointed lieutenant-governor of his native province, but died only a few weeks after taking office.

Nova Scotia seeks to withdraw from the Dominion

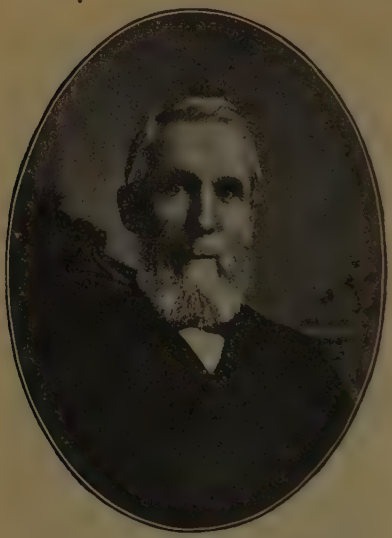
222. The Canadian Pacific Railway. — No greater

task has confronted any parliament of the Dominion than the building of a transcontinental railway. That this task should be undertaken within two years was the condition of British Columbia's entrance into the confederation. In 1872, therefore, the year in which Lord Dufferin became governor-general, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced the question in Parliament. Two companies straightway sought the charter, one the Inter-Oceanic, the other the Canada-Pacific. Unable to choose between the two companies, the government chartered a third, known as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The great enterprise was well under way when suddenly a member of the House arose and accused the government of having sold the charter to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for a sum of money to be used for election purposes. A committee was appointed to inquire into the charge, but the evidence was so conflicting that nothing came of the investigation. The matter hung fire

LORD DUFFERIN.

The "Pacific Scandal"

for some time, every delay throwing suspicion upon the government and strengthening the opposition. A second committee of inquiry, appointed by the governor-general, refused to pass judgment, and simply laid before Parliament the evidence which it had gathered. A heated debate followed. Finally the premier, seeing that when the question came to a vote the government would be defeated, resigned.



ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

Alexander Mackenzie, the leader of the opposition, was called upon to form a new government. Meanwhile the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had thrown up its charter, much to the dissatisfaction of British Columbia. The new premier at once announced that the plans of the recent government could not be fully carried out, and proposed to build the railway gradually as the finances of the country permitted. The Pacific province insisted upon the fulfilment of the conditions under which it had entered the confederation, and even sent delegates to England to protest against further delay. Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary, offered to act as arbi-

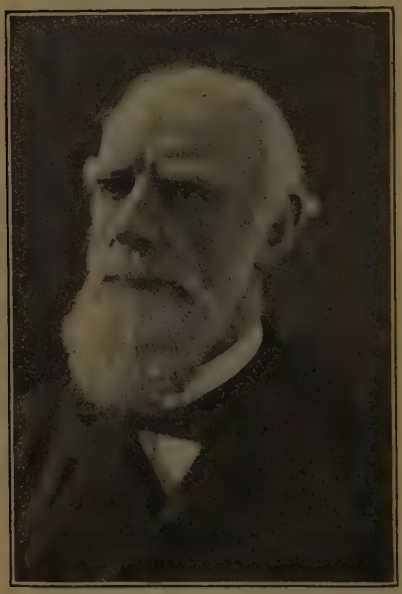
The Mackenzie administration

trator between the Dominion and British Columbia, and the offer was accepted. According to the "Carnarvon Terms," as they are called, the government agreed to construct immediately a wagon road and telegraph line along the route of the projected railway, and by the year 1890 to complete the railway itself from the Pacific to Lake Superior, where it would connect with the American roads and with the Canadian steamship lines. The delay caused by the Mackenzie government put a severe strain upon British Columbia's loyalty to the Dominion.

Driven from power by the "Pacific Scandal," the Conservatives had not been idle. Two years before the next election Sir John Macdonald began to advocate what was called the "National Policy." There had been such a falling off in trade that the revenue returns were greatly reduced. The government had to face an ever increasing deficit. The "National Policy" proposed to raise the tariff so as not only to produce a revenue, but also to protect the young industries of the country. "Canada for the Canadians" was the watchword of the Conservative party. The tariff became the main question upon which the two political parties differed. The general tendency of the Liberals has been towards free trade, while their opponents have steadily favoured a protective tariff. In the elections of 1878 the cry of "Canada for the Canadians" proved very attractive, and carried the Conservatives back to power. Mr. Mackenzie resigned and Sir John A. Macdonald again took up the reins of government. The same year closed the administration of Lord Dufferin, one of Canada's ablest governors. During his term of

The "National Policy"

office he visited every part of the Dominion, and did much to strengthen the feeling of unity and to bind Canada more closely to Great Britain. His successor was the Marquis of Lorne, whose wife was the Princess Louise, a daughter of Queen Victoria.



LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL.

Sir John A. Macdonald immediately took up again the question of the transcontinental road. Mr. Mackenzie's proposal to have the government build the railway was discarded. Reverting to his former policy, the premier entrusted the work to a syndicate of capitalists bearing the name of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Two prominent members of the company were Mr. George Stephen, a Montreal merchant, and Mr. Donald A. Smith, an official of the Hudson's Bay Company, both now favourably known under the titles of Lord Mount-Stephen and Lord Strathcona. The road was to be finished by the year 1891, but with such vigour was the work pressed forward that it was completed five years earlier. Construction was begun

The C. P. R. completed

from both ends, the two sections meeting in the Rockies, where the last spike was driven by Lord Strathcona in November, 1885. The importance to the Dominion of the enterprise thus successfully carried out was very great. Without a transcontinental railway the union of the East and West could never have been permanent.

Section 2. 1870–19—

Rebellion and Organisation in the North-West

223. The North-West Territories Organised. — Out of the Riel rebellion, as we have seen, emerged the province of Manitoba. No sooner was order restored than settlers began to flock into the country. Immigration was encouraged by free grants of land. Many farmers from eastern Canada moved west, while from Europe came an ever increasing number of colonists, of British, Scandinavian, and German stock. The newcomers spread beyond the limits of Manitoba, many finding their way into the valley of the Saskatchewan, a few even to the foothills of the Rockies. This North-Western Territory was governed by the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and a Council of eleven members. In 1876 a change took place. The eastern section of the country, called Keewatin, was placed under the personal control of the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, while the western was given a resident governor and a Council of five members. A few years later four districts were organised — Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabaska, and Saskatchewan. Regina, being situated upon the main

line of the Canadian Pacific Railway then under construction, was chosen as the seat of government.

224. The Saskatchewan Rebellion, 1885. — The advent of the railway gave promise of peaceful and rapid progress, when suddenly a second rebellion broke out. To understand this new outbreak it is necessary to turn back to the close of the Red River rebellion. In settlement of the claims of Manitoba's rebellious subjects two hundred and forty acres of land were granted to each half-breed. In spite of this liberal treatment, many of the *Métis* or half-breeds, rather than remain in a province which was quickly filling up with settlers, withdrew westwards and settled upon the banks of the Saskatchewan among their near relatives, the Cree Indians. With the formation of the North-West Territories the hated civilisation began to creep up upon them once more. The rapid disappearance of the buffalo, upon which Indians and half-breeds alike depended for a living, threatened a general famine. The natural unrest of the *Métis* was increased by a fear that their lands, of which they had received no patents or title-deeds, would be snatched away by speculators. Great dissatisfaction was felt, too, with the government's method of surveying the land, which interfered with the old French plan of having all the farms fronting upon the river. If anything further were needed to provoke rebellion, it was the presence of Louis Riel, who, returning from exile, suddenly appeared upon the scene to champion once more the cause of his restless compatriots. At first Riel was moderate, and there was every reason to expect that the government, though slow to act, would eventually remove all

The causes

causes of discontent, when an unfortunate encounter of armed men precipitated rebellion. Near Duck Lake, within the angle formed by the North and South Saskatchewan, a force of Mounted Police and Prince Albert volunteers, while attempting to bring in an outlying store of supplies, was met by a band of rebels and driven back with a loss of twelve men killed.

The Duck Lake fight

THE INTERIOR OF A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY TRADING-POST, SHOWING MOUNTED POLICEMAN, INDIANS, AND *MÉTIS*.

The position of the white settlers of the Saskatchewan Valley was serious. To maintain order over the wide prairies stretching from Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains there were at hand only five hundred Mounted Police. The real danger lay, not in a revolt of the *Métis*, but in the possibility of a general rising of the Indians, of whom there were over thirty thousand in the North-West. The success of the rebels at Duck Lake forced

the Police and Volunteers to fall back upon Prince Albert. This point, Battleford, and Fort Pitt were left exposed to the attack of either the *Métis* or the Indians. Fortunately the tribes most to be feared, the Blackfeet, the Bloods, and the Piegans, remained quiet, only the Crees joining hands with the rebels. The most serious risings of the Indians took place near Battleford and Fort Pitt, among the followers of Poundmaker and Big Bear. The heart of the rebellion was the village of Batoche, the centre of the *Métis* settlements. Here Riel, forgetful of his overthrow at Fort Garry fifteen years before, again raised the standard of revolt.

The real danger

The news of the fight at Duck Lake was the signal for a rising among the disaffected Indians. Near Battleford two murders were committed, although Poundmaker remained quiet within his reserve about thirty miles from the town. Big Bear's warriors were more lawless. Descending upon the little settlement of Frog Lake, near Fort Pitt, they disarmed and shot nine men, and carried off a number of women and children. They then moved upon Fort Pitt, a group of log-houses in the form of a square, practically defenceless. Fear of the twenty-three Mounted Police in charge of the fort kept Big Bear from attacking. The commander, Francis Dickens, a son of the famous novelist, seeing that the place could not long hold out against the enemy, withdrew his men and escaped down the river to Battleford.

The Frog Lake massacre

Fort Pitt

When the report of the rebellion reached Ottawa, the Dominion government took prompt action. As in the case of the Red River rising, the call for volunteers met

CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS CROSSING JACKFISH BAY, ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

with an eager response on all sides. Distance made the transportation of troops very difficult. From Ottawa to Qu'Appelle was over sixteen hundred miles, from Qu'Appelle to Batoche, two hundred and forty. To add to the difficulty of the undertaking there were several gaps in the Canadian Pacific Railway along the north shore of Lake Superior, which necessitated the use of sleighs in transporting

Eastern Canada to the rescue

guns and military stores. In spite of all obstacles, within less than two months forty-four hundred men were placed in the field, all save the Winnipeg contingent being from Eastern Canada.

General Middleton, commander-in-chief of the Canadian militia, who arrived at Qu'Appelle in advance of the main force, quickly formed his plans. Making the Canadian Pacific Railway the base line of his operations, he prepared to crush the rebellion in all its centres at once. Three places

The plan of campaign

were in immediate danger — Prince Albert, Battleford and Fort Pitt; three relief expeditions were provided for in the plan of campaign. General Middleton was to advance from Qu'Appelle to Batoche, Riel's headquarters, Colonel Otter from Swift Current to Battleford, and General Strange from Calgary to Edmonton.

On the 6th of April General Middleton's detachment left Fort Qu'Appelle, and twelve days later reached Clark's Crossing, on the Saskatchewan, where it had been arranged to meet the steamer *Northcote* coming down the river with reinforcements and supplies. Although the steamer had not yet arrived, General Middleton divided his force, one-half on either bank, and advanced in the direction of Batoche. A few days later, as the division on the east bank was entering the ravine of Fish Creek, it came suddenly upon a strong force of the rebels under the command of Gabriel Dumont, a buffalo hunter whom Riel had chosen to be his lieutenant. In the skirmish which followed, Middleton lost ten men, the enemy eleven. Although Dumont fell back in the night, Middleton decided to await the arrival of the *Northcote*. On the 5th of May the delayed steamer arrived, and the advance was continued, two days' march bringing the force within striking distance of the rebels' headquarters. The ground before the village was found to be honeycombed with rifle-pits. Three days of skirmishing before these entrenchments wore out the patience of the volunteers, so that on the fourth day General Middleton had great difficulty in

Fish Creek

Batoche

holding them. In the afternoon all restraint was thrown off, and the line, led by Colonel Williams of the Midland Battalion, swept forward at a run, drove the enemy's riflemen from their trenches, pursuing them through the village beyond. The back of the rebellion was broken, and three days later Riel gave himself up. Without loss of time General Middleton pressed on to Prince Albert, and thence to Battleford.

Colonel Otter's advance

Ten days after leaving Swift Current, Colonel Otter halted within three miles of Battleford. Fearing that Poundmaker, although as yet not actively hostile, might be influenced to join forces with Big Bear, he decided to move in the direction of the neighbouring reserve. The Indian encampment was found to occupy the higher of two hills, beyond the ravine of Cut Knife Creek. The appearance of the volunteers upon the crest of the first hill was the signal for battle. Early in the engagement the two guns which Colonel Otter had brought with him broke down. This disaster, coupled with the superiority of the Indians in number, made it necessary to fall back in the direction of Battleford. The loss sustained in this fight was eight killed and fourteen wounded, and might have been much more serious had Poundmaker followed up his advantage by pursuing his retiring enemy.

Cut Knife Creek

General Strange's advance

Meanwhile General Strange had relieved Edmonton from the danger of an Indian attack, and was descending the North Saskatchewan in order to hem in Big Bear between his force and that of Colonel Otter stationed at Battleford. On

the 24th of May Fort Pitt was reached. Three days later Big Bear's band was located, but was found to be too strongly entrenched to be successfully attacked. When, alarmed at the strength of the forces closing in upon them, the Indians began to retreat, Major Steele was sent in pursuit. It was a long chase over hundreds of miles of broken country. Gradually Big Bear's force was broken up, and the leader himself finally surrendered to the Mounted Police. Meanwhile, at Battleford, Poundmaker and his followers had come in and laid down their arms. With Riel, Poundmaker, and Big Bear in custody, the rebellion was at an end, and it only remained to punish the rebel leaders who had defied the authority of the Canadian government. Riel was tried at Regina, and, though ably defended, was found guilty of treason and sentenced to be hanged. Eight Indians also paid the death penalty for murder,

FIGURE SURMOUNTING THE MONUMENT AT TORONTO ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE VOLUNTEERS WHO FELL IN THE SASKATCHEWAN REBELLION.

while others were imprisoned, among the latter Poundmaker, who died in prison.

225. Growth of the North-West. — Although a trying experience while it lasted, the Saskatchewan rebellion was not without its good results. The Dominion government was brought to recognise the claims of the *Métis*, and did so by promptly issuing title-deeds of their lands. In recognition of their growing importance, the North-West Territories were granted representation in the Senate and the House of Commons. To preserve order and to protect the lives of the settlers scattered throughout the country, the Mounted Police force was considerably increased. But the greatest influence of the rebellion was not upon the North-West alone, but upon the whole Dominion. Eagerly the volunteers went,

The effects of the rebellion

> "Over dim forest and lake,
> Over lone prairie and brake,
> The clamour of battle to wake
> For kindred and country's sake
> Into the North and the Westland."

All the provinces were interested in the suppression of the revolt; their sons either shared in the fighting or were pressing to the front when stopped by the news of Riel's surrender. Common hardships upon the march, common dangers in the field of battle, and the common anxiety of friends at home made real in the hearts of Canadians the union which confederation had brought about.

Rebellion and the rapid growth of population which followed showed the Dominion authorities the wisdom

of giving to the North-West Territories a stronger government. The Council was abolished and its place taken by an elective Assembly. From the Assembly the lieutenant-governor was instructed to choose four members to act as an advisory Council. For a few years the lieutenant-governor did not recognise the independence of the Assembly, but in the end that body came to enjoy powers practically equal to those of the provincial Assemblies of the Dominion.

An elective Assembly

Responsible government

226. Alberta and Saskatchewan. — In 1905 still further progress was made in the way of organisation. By an Act of Parliament introduced by the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were formed from the North-West Territories. In almost all respects the new provinces enjoy the same rights as the older provinces, except that the public lands are retained by the Dominion, compensation therefor being made by an annual cash allowance. Each province is represented in the Dominion Parliament by four Senators and five members of the House of Commons.

227. The Yukon. — The gold seekers of the far West were moving gradually northwards. From river to river they advanced until, in 1896, gold was found in large quantities upon the Klondike, a branch of the Yukon River. The news spread quickly, and, although the newly discovered treasure-land lay close to the Arctic Circle, thousands of fortune hunters were soon pouring in along the northern trails. Upon the Klondike, near its junction with the Yukon, a cluster of tents and log

cabins gave promise of a permanent settlement, a promise which has been fulfilled in the now famous Dawson City. At first the Yukon Territory was controlled by the North-West government. Later it was organised as a separate district, under an official called the Commissioner of the Yukon, appointed by the governor-general-in-council. The Commissioner is advised by a Council, in part appointed by the governor-general-in-council and in part elected by the people of the district. More recently the Yukon has been granted representation in the House of Commons.

Section 3. 1885–19—

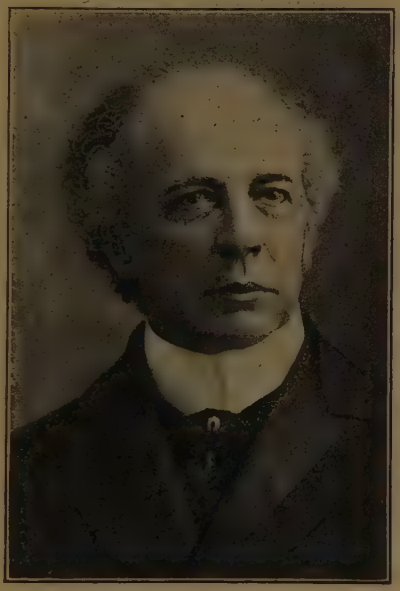
Canada and the Empire

228. Dominion Leaders. — The confederation period of Canadian history has produced not a few statesmen, who have dealt ably with questions of Dominion, even of imperial, interest. The giant of them all was Sir John A. Macdonald, whose name is so closely associated with two great events — the forming of the Dominion and the building of a transcontinental railway. In 1891 death robbed Canada of her greatest statesman, and a year later of his political opponent, Alexander Mackenzie, a man whose honesty has become proverbial in Canadian history. Sir John's long tenure of office was followed by four short administrations, those of Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Sir Charles Tupper. In 1896 the long rule of the Conservatives, which began in 1878, was brought to a close. The Liberals returned to power under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Wil-

DOMINION OF CANADA
AND NEWFOUNDLAND
Scale of Miles.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Cities with over 200,000:.....Montreal
Cities with 50,000 to 200,000:.....Hamilton
Cities with 25,000 to 50,000:.....Winnipeg
Smaller places:.....Port Arthur
Capitals with less than 25,000:.....Regina
Capitals of Countries : ◎ Capitals of Provinces : ◉ Other Cities : ●
160° 150° 140° 130° 120° 110° 100°
120° 110° 100° Longitude
60° 50° 40°
Beaufort Sea
Mackenzie Bay
Melville Sound
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Athabaska
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Manitoba
Hudson Bay
Pacific Ocean
Strait of Juan de Fuca
Vancouver Island
Queen Charlotte Islands
Dixon Entrance
Mt. St. Elias 18,024
Malaspina Glacier
Yukon R.
Circle City
Fairbanks
Alaskan Mts.
Cook Inlet
Mt. McKinley
Dawson
KLONDIKE
YUKON
MACKENZIE
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
ASSINIBOIA
MANITOBA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Fort Simpson
Fort Norman
Fort Nelson
Fort St. John
Ste. Anne
Fort Chipperwan
Fort Resolution
Fort Churchill
Edmonton
Battleford
Prince Albert
Calgary
Banff
Yorkton
Moosejaw
Regina
Brandon
Winnipeg
Kamloops
Revelstoke
Nanaimo
Victoria
Vancouver
New Westminster
Seattle
Tacoma
Portland
Spokane
Helena
Minneapolis
San Francisco
C. Blanco
Sitka
Ft. Wrangell
Prince of Wales I.
Queen Charlotte Sound
Columbia R.
Missouri R.
Mackenzie R.
Peace R.
Athabaska R.
Saskatchewan R.
Lake Athabaska
Great Slave Lake
Great Bear Lake
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Manitoba
Lake Winnipegosis
Reindeer Lake
Lake Athapapuskow
Lake Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Timiskaming
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Toronto
Hamilton
Montreal
Quebec
Ottawa
Kingston
Port Arthur
Duluth
Chicago
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Rochester
Albany
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
Baltimore
Washington
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
St. Louis
Kansas City
Omaha
Denver
Salt Lake City
Cheyenne
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R.R.
Canadian Pacific R.R.
Grand Trunk R.R.
Great Northern R.R.
Northern Pacific R.R.
Union Pacific R.R.
Wabash R.R.
Baltimore & Ohio R.R.
Pennsylvania R.R.
New York Central R.R.
Boston & Maine R.R.
Chesapeake & Ohio R.R.
Norfolk & Western R.R.
Atlantic Coast Line R.R.
Southern Pacific R.R.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R.R.
Missouri Pacific R.R.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific R.R.
Chicago & Northwestern R.R.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R.R.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R.R.
Canadian Pacific R.R.
Grand Trunk R.R.
Great Northern R.R.
Northern Pacific R.R.
Union Pacific R.R.
Wabash R.R.
Baltimore & Ohio R.R.
Pennsylvania R.R.
New York Central R.R.
Boston & Maine R.R.
Chesapeake & Ohio R.R.
Norfolk & Western R.R.
Atlantic Coast Line R.R.
Southern Pacific R.R.
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R.R.
Missouri Pacific R.R.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific R.R.
Chicago & Northwestern R.R.
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R.R.

GREENLAND
(To Denmark.)
The Interior is entirely covered with Ice, possibly 2,000 ft. to 3,000 ft. thick.
Denmark Strait
C. Dan
C. York
Lancaster Strait
BAFFIN BAY
Upernivik
DAVIS STRAIT
DISKO I.
Godhavn
Disko Bay
KING FREDERICK VI. LAND
Home Bay
BAFFIN LAND
C. Walsingham
Godthaab
C. Farewell
Julianehaab
MELVILLE PENINSULA
Fox Channel
C. Mercy
Cumberland Sound
FOX LAND
HALL PENINSULA
Frobisher Bay
RESOLUTION I.
SOUTHAMPTON ISLAND
BELL I.
Hudson Strait
C. Chidley
Fisher Strait
COATS I.
MANSFIELD I.
Mosquito Bay
Payne L.
Ungava Bay
LABRADOR
Nain (Mission)
Hopedale (Mission)
Hamilton Inlet
C. Dufferin
UNGAVA
CANADA
Richmond Gulf
Great Whale R.
Big R.
C. Henrietta Maria
Hamilton R.
Strait of Belle Isle
C. Bald
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. John's
Cape Race
James Bay
Ekwan R.
East Main R.
Height of Land
QUEBEC
ANTICOSTI I.
Gulf of St. Lawrence
GRAND MIQUELON (To France)
ST. PIERRE I. (To France)
Banks of Newfoundland
Ft. Albany
L. Mistassini
PR. EDWARD ISLAND
Charlottetown
CAPE BRETON I.
Strait of Canso
SABLE I.
L. Nepigon
Moose R.
Saguenay R.
St. John R.
NEW BRUNSWICK
Moncton
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Quebec
Ft. William
Lake Superior
Sault Ste. Marie
Montreal
Ottawa R.
Hull
Fredericton
St. John
Sherbrooke
Bay of Fundy
Yarmouth
C. Sable
Ottawa
Peterborough
Kingston
Portland
Cape Cod
Toronto
Guelph
L. Ontario
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Hamilton
London
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
Boston
Detroit
Windsor
Lake Erie
Welland Canal
Lake Ontario
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE R.-N. CO.
Greenwich

frid has proved himself an able statesman, and has been especially active in promoting a closer relationship between Canada and the rest of the British Empire.



SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

229. The Unity of the British Empire. — Next to the expansion and consolidation of the Dominion, the most important fact of recent Canadian history has been the strengthening of the ties binding Canada to the British Empire.

The Colonial Conference, 1894

An event occurred in 1894 which had an important bearing upon this movement, namely, the gathering of the Colonial Conference at Ottawa. Delegates were present from Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and South Africa, and the Earl of Jersey, representing Great Britain, presided. The object of the conference was to promote trade and good feeling among the colonies, thereby fostering the unity of the British Empire. One result of this gathering has been the laying of a cable between Canada and Australia, completing an all-British system.

The burden of this enterprise was shared by Great Britain, Australia, and Canada. In the year 1902 Sir Sandford Fleming of Ottawa, who is commonly called the father of the Pacific Cable, was able to send around the world on British lines a message of congratulation to the governor-general of Canada. The imperial bonds were drawn still closer by the Diamond Jubilee, the celebration in 1897 of the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. Upon this occasion the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout the Empire, troops from the various colonies taking part in the military parade. The colonial premiers took advantage of the opportunity to hold another meeting to discuss matters of intercolonial trade.

The Diamond Jubilee, 1897

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which had such an important bearing upon the expansion of the Dominion, was an event of great moment to the British Empire. The construction of the transcontinental road was followed by the establishment of a Pacific steamship line connecting Canada's western coast with the Asiatic East. The Atlantic and Pacific steamship lines and the Canadian Pacific Railway furnished Great Britain with an alternative route to Australia and India. In the event of a war with an eastern power this route would be invaluable to the British Empire. Another event which tended to consolidate the Empire was the introduction of imperial penny postage. In 1898, through the efforts of Sir William Mulock, the postmaster-general of Canada, a letter rate of two cents an ounce was adopted for the United Kingdom, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Colony,

The C. P. R. and the Empire

and Natal. This rate was afterwards extended to other parts of the British dominions.

Late in 1899 war broke out between Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic in South Africa. The premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at once introduced into Parliament a resolution in favour of offering aid to the motherland. The House unanimously adopted the resolution with the greatest enthusiasm, every member standing and joining in the National Anthem. Canada's offer of a thousand men was accepted by the imperial government. In two weeks' time the contingent, including representatives from every province, was enlisted, equipped, and transported to Quebec, ready to embark for South Africa. Later, when it was seen that the war was likely to be prolonged, several more contingents were hurried to the distant battle ground. Eighty-three hundred and seventy-two men was Canada's contribution to the forces of the Empire. Of these two hundred and fifty-two were wounded, while two hundred and twenty-four lie buried beneath the veldts of South Africa. In marching, scouting, and fighting, the Canadian troops proved themselves worthy sons of the Empire, and in several hard-fought engagements bore themselves with credit beside Britain's most honoured regiments. The eagerness with which the colonies came to the aid of the motherland in the Boer War proved the unity of the British Empire.

Canada aids Great Britain in the Boer War

"Shall we not through good and ill
Cleave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call,
Sons, be welded each and all

Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!
Britons, hold your own."

— TENNYSON.

Death of Queen Victoria

While the war was still in progress, Queen Victoria died. As the cables flashed the news around the Empire, Britons everywhere mourned the loss of the sovereign who had "wrought her people lasting good."

"Her court was pure; her life serene;
God gave her peace; her land reposed;
A thousand claims to reverence closed
In her as mother, wife and Queen."

In the autumn of the year which saw the late queen laid to rest, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (now Prince and Princess of Wales) made a tour of the Empire and were everywhere enthusiastically welcomed.

Coronation of Edward VII

In the following year King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra were crowned. All the colonies were represented in the coronation ceremonies, and no colonial representatives were more graciously received than Canada's. Thus have events, some sad, others joyful, drawn us closer to the motherland, putting meaning into our words when we sing, "God save the King."

CHAPTER XIV

CANADA AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW CENTURY

SECTION I

PROGRESS, 1867–19—

230. Transportation. — The population of the Dominion at the close of the nineteenth century was about five and a half millions. The increase in the older provinces was not great, the growth of the West being more marked. The development of Western Canada was the result of the expansion of the railway system. At the time of confederation there were twenty-two hundred miles of railway, at the close of the century, no less than seventeen thousand, controlled mainly by the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk companies and the Intercolonial. The advent of the Canadian Pacific Railway worked a marvellous change in the West. At the terminus of the road there sprang up, as by magic, the bustling city of Vancouver, while the line throughout was soon dotted with villages. Many of these have now risen to the dignity of towns, a few even aspire to take rank with the cities. To north and south the road has thrown out branch lines, everywhere developing new districts. No sooner has one transcontinental railway opened up a broad belt of land than it is proposed to build a second. Already a new company, the Grand Trunk Pacific, has entered

Railways

into a contract with the Dominion government to build another railway from coast to coast. If this contract is carried out, the new line will run parallel with the Canadian Pacific, and will throw open a new North-West.

The development of canals has kept pace with that of railways. The Welland Canal and those of the St. Lawrence system have been deepened, while Lake Superior and Lake Huron have been connected by the Sault Ste. Marie Canal running through Canadian territory. It is now possible for a vessel drawing fourteen feet of water to load at Fort William and to pass through to Montreal, a distance of fourteen hundred miles. The improvement of these waterways has resulted in a great increase in Canadian shipping. Countless steamers and vessels of all kinds ply back and forth over the Great Lakes. The steamer is no longer a novelty. Its shrill whistle has broken the silence of the rivers and lakes of both East and West, and even of the distant North. Upon the Atlantic and upon the Pacific, Canadian steamship lines knit Canada's commerce with that of the outside world.

Canals

231. Industrial Growth. — Canada is chiefly an agricultural country, nearly one half her people depending upon the farm for a living. In the older provinces farming has reached a scientific stage, and the most is made of every acre of land. The pioneer days have long since passed, and on every hand are to be seen signs of prosperity. Fine roads run for miles and miles past well-fenced farms, with comfortable houses and large barns. Artistic furniture, fine clothing, and modern buggies tell of prosperous days. In the

West things wear a newer look. To this wheat land — the greatest in the world — all eyes are turned. Settlers are flocking in from Eastern Canada, from the United States, and from many countries of Europe.

Where wheat fields cease, mineral veins begin. Coal, iron, copper, nickel, gold, and asbestos are found in inexhaustible supply. The mineral output of Canada is already great, and the future will reveal what wealth the North holds beneath its rockbound surface. The manufactures of Canada have taken great strides since confederation, and her fisheries have become the most extensive in the world. On all sides are evidences of growth, — thirty-nine banks, ten thousand post-offices, thirty-six thousand miles of telegraph lines, and one hundred and thirty-six thousand miles of telephone wires.

232. The Canadian Militia. — Conscious of a new strength growing out of union, Canada after confederation undertook the burden of her own defence. All British troops, except those at Halifax, were withdrawn. The Canadian military system is under the control of a Militia Council, the chairman of which is the Minister of Militia. The other members are the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Master-General of Ordinance, the Deputy-Minister of Militia and the Accountant of the Militia Department. Of course the Minister is the official who is responsible to Parliament for the conduct of military affairs. The Canadian militia consists, with certain exceptions, of all the male inhabitants of the country between the ages of eighteen and sixty. These may be called out for service in the following order: (1) Unmarried men or childless widowers

between eighteen and thirty; (2) Unmarried men or childless widowers between thirty and forty-five; (3) Men between eighteen and forty-five, who are married, or widowers with children; (4) Men between forty-five and sixty. These are called the Reserve Militia. There is in addition a Permanent Militia of a thousand men, besides the North-West Mounted Police, and an Active Militia of forty-five thousand men serving for three years and drilling from eight to sixteen days each year. The naval defences of Canada are kept up by the British government. Halifax on the east coast and Esquimalt on the west are strongly fortified, and each is the naval station of a squadron of the British navy.

233. Schools and Churches. — Fortunately for Canada the progress of education and Christianity has been no less decided than the material growth. Although no striking change has taken place in the public school system founded by Dr. Ryerson, yet the influence of educational institutions has been greatly widened. It is said that about one-fifth of the Canadian people are attending schools and colleges. Larger buildings, better equipment, and more capable teachers have rendered the Canadian public school system second to none in the world. The scope of higher education has been extended to include Agriculture, Medicine, Science, Music, Dentistry, and other subjects. The four older churches, the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican, have shared in the general progress of the country, and beside them have sprung up two younger denominations, the Baptist and the Congregational. The churches have played an im-

portant part in the building up of the West. That the lawlessness which characterised the early life of the Western United States gained little headway in the Canadian West was due in large part to the active missionary work of the churches.

Section 2

Canadian Literature

234. The Early French Period. — The literature of a people is of slow growth. We do not look for great books from a young nation. The life of the explorer or of the settler is one of action. In the newly discovered country there is the forest to hew down, the land to clear, and the home to build. Then come the making of roads, and the building of churches and schools. In these days of toil and hardship there is no place for literature. Only when prosperous days come, bringing leisure and ease, do men think of books. Although not far past the pioneer stage of her history, Canada possesses at least the beginnings of a literature, or rather of two literatures, one French, the other English. Fortunately some of our ancestors, of both races, found time, even amid the anxieties of pioneer life, to write of their experiences, and though much that they wrote cannot be called literature, it has proved valuable material in the hands of modern writers.

Canadian literature — or the material of Canadian literature — is as old as Canadian history. In welcoming to its company the Parisian lawyer, Marc L'Escarbot, the Port Royal colony welcomed

L'Escarbot

both historian and poet. L'Escarbot's "L'Histoire de la Nouvelle France" and "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France" give us a delightful glimpse of the life of this, Canada's first settlement. Champlain shares with L'Escarbot the honour of ushering in the era of Canadian literature. Even in the busy years of his explorations, Indian fighting, and colonising, the founder of New France had time to write an account of his experiences, which was published under the title of "Des Sauvages." The most extensive writings of this early period were the Jesuit "Relations." We have read of the wide field covered by the zealous priests of the Jesuit order, stretching from Acadia through the valley of the St. Lawrence into the countries of the Hurons and the Iroquois. From the most distant points reports of missionary work were sent into Quebec, and thence to France to be published. The Jesuit "Relations" are a treasure-house of historical material. The most familiar name of the period is that of Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, who, after visiting all the Jesuit missions from Acadia to the Gulf of Mexico, wrote a valuable description of the habits and customs of the native tribes.

Champlain

The Jesuit "Relations"

235. The Later French Period. — There followed a long interval, during which the voice of literature was silent. The colonists thought only of the fur trade. Missions were withdrawn before the savage attacks of the Iroquois. Then came the long struggle between France and Britain, which, while it was in progress, left no time for writing, and through its effects stifled literary effort for many years following. Not until after the

union of 1841, when responsible government had been won, did French Canadians again turn their attention to literature. To this later period belong many historians of note, including François Xavier Garneau, Benjamin Sulte, and Abbé Casgrain. Garneau's "L'Histoire du Canada" is regarded by French Canadians as their national history. Under the head of history, although a romance, comes M. Philippe de Gaspé's "Les Anciens Canadiens," an interesting sketch of early Quebec life. There has been a great output of French Canadian verse, but little of a lasting quality. In the front rank of poets stand Pamphile le May, Octave Crémazie, and Louis Fréchette. In 1880 Fréchette brought honour to Canada by winning the highest prize of the French Academy.

Historians

LOUIS FRÉCHETTE.

Poets

MRS. MOODIE.

236. The Early British Period.— Such stirring events as the conquest, the American invasion, the coming of the Loyalists, and the War of 1812 gave little opportunity for writing; yet they furnished rich material for later works of history, fiction, and verse. "The Conquest of Canada" is an interesting account of Britain's

triumph from the pen of Major G. G. Warburton. Montgomery's invasion forms the background of one of the earliest and best Canadian novels, "Les Bastonnais," by John Lespérance. Life in Quebec during the days of Louis XIV and Louis XV is vividly pictured by William Kirby in "Le Chien d'Or" (The Golden Dog). Lower Canada of the period between 1791 and 1841 found its historian in Mr. Robert Christie, while the life of the Loyalists of Upper Canada has been set forth by Dr. Egerton Ryerson and Dr. William Canniff. The War of 1812 proved a rich field alike for historian, novelist, and poet. It has provided a setting for "The Canadian Brothers," written by Major John Richardson, the author of an even greater novel, "Wacousta," an Indian tale. Here also Miss Agnes Machar has sought inspiration for her romance, "For King and Country." The memory of Britain's staunch ally is fittingly preserved in Mr. Charles Mair's drama, "Tecumseh." The early part of the nineteenth century was, as far as Upper Canada was

CHARLES MAIR.

History and fiction

GOLDWIN SMITH.

concerned, a period of settlement. The literature of the day, apart from books of travel written by visitors, was confined to works descriptive of pioneer life. Of these none are more interesting than Mrs. Moodie's "Roughing it in the Bush" and Mrs. Traill's "Backwoods of Canada."

237. The Later British Period. — In the more modern period, history has bulked largely. In general history the names of McMullen, Withrow, Kingsford, Bourinot, and Goldwin Smith are well known. To the patience of Dr. Kingsford we owe the most extensive history of our country, a work of ten volumes. Several works on the Canadian Constitution and a few of a more popular character are the monument of the late Sir John G. Bourinot, clerk of the House of Commons. Professor Goldwin Smith, who, although he came to Canada in middle life, has been so long in the country that he is looked upon as a native, is "perhaps the most conspicuous figure in Canadian literature at the present day." In local history the Maritime Provinces claim several writers of distinction, Haliburton, Murdock, Campbell and Hannay. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, lawyer, legislator, and judge, was one of Canada's most famous authors. Able as is his history of Nova Scotia, it is not upon this that his fame rests, but rather upon a volume entitled "The Clockmaker: or the Sayings and

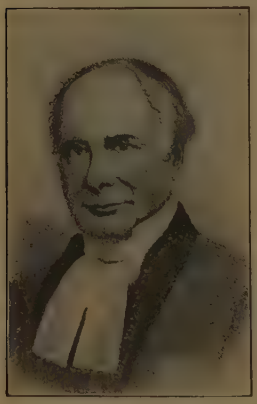
SIR GILBERT PARKER.

Haliburton

Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville." This remarkable work of humour, equally popular in Canada, the United States, and England, won for its distinguished author a degree from Oxford University and a seat in the British House of Commons.

In the recent progress of literature and science an important part has been played by the Royal Society of Canada. The society, founded by the Marquis of Lorne, held its first meeting at Ottawa, in 1882. Its president, Sir William Dawson, the distinguished head of McGill University, was the author of several works on science which have become popular throughout the English-speaking world. The Royal Society continues to meet each year and publishes annually a volume of transactions containing very valuable matter relating to history and to science in its various branches.

The Royal Society of Canada



THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON.

Canadian history furnishes a wealth of material for fiction. In this branch of literature a beginning at least has been made. Of late years a new school of fiction has sprung up, whose work gives promise of better things to come. Out of the romantic incidents of the war between France and Britain, Charles G. D. Roberts has woven two attractive stories, "The Forge in the Forest" and "A Sister to Evangeline."

Recent fiction

In "The Seats of the Mighty" Sir Gilbert Parker has made real to us the life of Quebec during the era of the conquest. The hardships and dangers of the fur trade of the North-West have become better known through Miss Laut's "Lords of the North" and "Heralds of Empire." Rocky Mountain miners and lumbermen of the Ottawa are the heroes whom the inspired pen of Ralph Connor has made so fascinating to the reading public in "Black Rock," "The Sky Pilot," and "The Man from Glengarry."

CHARLES HEAVYSEGE.

There are no books in modern Canadian literature more attractive than those which deal with our wild animals and their haunts. Such are Ernest Thompson Seton's "Wild Animals I Have Known" and "Lives of the Hunted"; Charles G. D. Roberts' "Heart of the Ancient Wood" and "Kindred of the Wild," and W. A. Fraser's "Mooswa."

ARCHIBALD LAMPMAN.

The first great Canadian poem written in English was "Saul," a drama from the pen of Charles Heavysege, a Montreal journalist. To Charles Sangster, sometimes called the "Canadian Wordsworth," we owe several

Charles Heavysege

volumes of verse, inspired mainly by Canadian scenery and history. Between these older writers and the present Canadian school of poets stand John Reade, author of "The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems," Hunter Duvar, the creator of an historical drama entitled "De Roberval," and Charles Mair, to whose "Tecumseh" reference has already been made. The most celebrated of our modern poets are Archibald Lampman, William Wilfred Campbell, Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Duncan Campbell Scott, Frederick George Scott, Theodore Rand, Agnes Maule Machar, Jean Blewett, Ethelwyn Wetherald, and Pauline Johnson. Several of these have won an honourable place in the field of poetry, but their work has been done too recently to be judged as to its permanent value. Through much of the more recent verse there runs a marked patriotic strain. Loyalty to Canada and to the British Empire has inspired many of our shorter poems.

Recent poets

> "Saxon and Gaul, Canadians, claim
> A part in the glory and pride and aim
> Of the Empire that girdles the world."

CHAPTER XV

GREAT BRITAIN, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

1783–19—

238. The Maine Boundary. —The treaty of Versailles, by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, was the first of a series of international dealings affecting Canada. This first treaty fixed the southern boundary line of Canada. In the east the boundary between Maine and Nova Scotia was to be the St. Croix River, and a "line drawn from its source to the highlands dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence." From the point where the line touched the St. Lawrence — at the forty-fifth parallel — the boundary was defined as running through the middle of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. From the "north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods" the boundary was to run due west to the Mississippi. In this treaty Canada suffered a serious loss of territory. The valuable country lying within the angle of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, which Canadian explorers had discovered and Canadian traders had opened up, was surrendered without protest. Moreover, the indefinite terms of the treaty gave rise to further dispute, and resulted finally in further loss to Canada.

The treaty of Versailles, 1783

When the treaty of Versailles was concluded, there was no river bearing the name of St. Croix. To what river, then, did the treaty refer? The United States said the Magaguadavic, Great Britain the Schoodic or Shoodic. Increasing friction led to the appointment of a commission to settle the matter, and in 1798 a decision was given in favour of Great Britain. But at this point another mistake was made which robbed Canada of a valuable strip of country. The eastern branch of the Schoodic was chosen instead of the western, although the latter is the main stream. The line above the Schoodic remained unsettled. For many years the question stood open, and on more than one occasion nearly caused war. At one time the matter was referred to the king of the Netherlands. His award was a mere compromise, simply fixing the boundary line in the course of the River St. John, without attempting to define the "highlands." The United States refused to accept the award, and once more Maine and New Brunswick were exposed to the danger of an outbreak between the rival lumbermen who occupied the disputed territory.

The St. Croix?

The "highlands"?

Finally, in 1842, a settlement was brought about, in which Canada's interests were sacrificed. Lord Ashburton representing Great Britain, and Mr. Daniel Webster on behalf of the United States, drew up the terms of what is known as the Ashburton Treaty. Lord Ashburton, ignoring the "highlands" referred to in the treaty of Versailles, consented to a boundary line running north from the east branch of the Schoodic to the St. John, and thence

The Ashburton Treaty, 1842

along the bed of the latter stream. As the outcome of this blunder, the state of Maine now presses like a huge wedge between the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec. How serious was the loss sustained in this surrender of Canadian territory is well known to-day, when a "short line" railway connecting Montreal and St. John is forced to run through a foreign country.

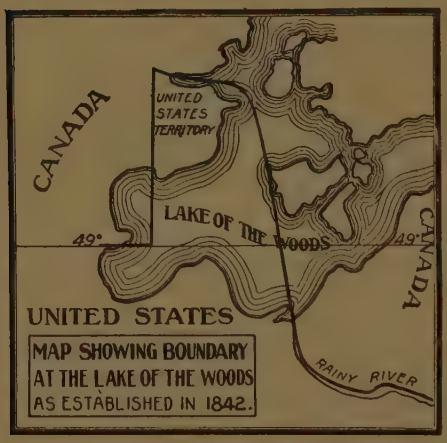
RIVER ST. LAWRENCE
LOWER CANADA
BAY OF CHALEURS
NEW BRUNSWICK
RIVER ST. JOHN
MAINE
R. SHOODIC
R. PENOBSCOT
BAY OF FUNDY
MAP SHOWING THE MAINE BOUNDARY
BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED BY THE ASHBURTON TREATY
BOUNDARY TRACED ACCORDING TO THE NATURAL WATERSHED AS DECLARED IN THE TREATY OF 1783
BOUNDARY TRACED NORTHWARD FROM THE MAIN STREAM OF THE SHOODIC

239. The Fisheries Question. — The number and variety of fish with which the coast waters of Canada teem have made the fisheries question a vital one. When the United States became independent of Great Britain, American fishermen lost the privilege of fishing in the territorial waters — that is, within three miles of the coast — of the British provinces. In 1818 an arrangement was made whereby Americans were allowed to fish around the Magdalen Islands and along certain parts of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and also to land on these coasts to dry or cure fish. They could enter bays or harbours only "for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, or of purchasing

wood or of obtaining water." The strictness with which Great Britain enforced these limitations caused much ill-feeling. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 put an end to all unpleasantness by giving to American fishermen the right to fish upon the coasts of the British provinces without any restriction as to the three-mile limit. Twelve years later the United States refused to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, and the fisheries question fell back to its former standing.

The Reciprocity Treaty, 1854

240. The Oregon Treaty, 1846. — The boundary line between American and British territory in the west was fixed by the London Convention of 1818 at the forty-ninth parallel. At the Lake of the Woods a second wedge of American territory was thrust into Canada's side. The forty-ninth parallel was the accepted line as far as the Rockies. It was agreed that for the time being the country beyond the mountains should be "free and open" to both nations. In 1846 the Oregon Treaty continued the boundary line along the forty-ninth parallel to the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland. The line was to follow



this channel south-westerly to the Pacific Ocean. It remained to be seen what channel was meant.

241. The Washington Treaty. — In 1871 an attempt was made to settle all outstanding disputes between Great Britain and the United States. For the first time a Canadian was chosen to act as one of the British commissioners. When the commission met at Washington Sir John A. Macdonald, premier of the newly formed Dominion, was present on Canada's behalf. The United States claimed compensation for damage done to her trade by a Southern cruiser, the *Alabama*, which had been fitted out in a British harbour. This claim was referred to arbitration, and Great Britain promptly paid the amount fixed by the arbitrators. Canada's counter-claim on account of the Fenian raids was withdrawn at the request of the British government. To overcome the dissatisfaction of Canadians at this surrender of their rights, Great Britain guaranteed a large loan to be spent on railways and canals. The navigation of the River St. Lawrence, the canals, and Lake Michigan was thrown open to both nations. The commissioners also dealt with the question of the disputed channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland. The ownership of San Juan was involved, the subjects of both nations having for several years occupied the island jointly. The question was referred for settlement to the German Emperor, who a year later gave his award in favour of the United States. With a view to removing another difficulty Canadian fisheries were thrown open to Americans for ten years, the United States in return agreeing to

The San Juan case

The fisheries

pay the sum of five and a half million dollars. This amount was determined upon by three arbitrators who met at Halifax six years later, Mr. A. T. Galt being the Canadian representative. At the end of the ten years the American government refused to renew this arrangement, so that the whole question of the fisheries was again opened. At the present time American fishermen are allowed to take out licenses to fish in Canadian waters. It is important to note that the Washington Treaty did not come into force until ratified by the Canadian Parliament.

242. The Alaskan Disputes. — When British and Russian fur traders met upon the Pacific coast, it became necessary to fix definitely the line dividing the territories of the two powers interested. This was done by treaty in 1825. In 1867, the year of confederation, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. Out of this purchase have arisen two disputes between Great Britain and the United States, the one connected with Behring Sea sealing rights, the other with the Alaskan boundary.

The Behring Sea question

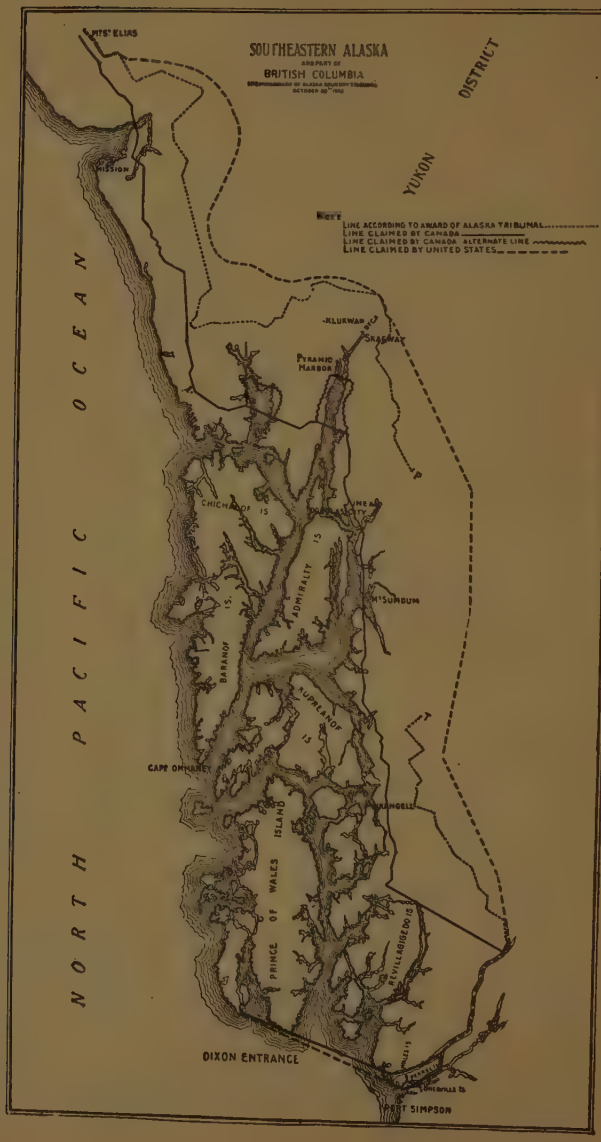
The United States claimed that the Behring Sea was a "closed sea," and therefore American territory, and also that the seals therein were an American herd, the property of the "Alaska Company." The trouble was brought to a head by the seizure of several British schooners by American revenue-cutters. The question was wisely submitted to a tribunal, which met in Paris in 1893. Again Canada was represented by her premier, then Sir John Thompson. While the decision of the tribunal was against the claims of the United States, certain regulations were

laid down to prevent a wholesale destruction of the seals.

In taking over Alaska from Russia the United States secured all the rights of that nation as laid down in the treaty of 1825. According to this treaty the boundary was to run as follows: "Commencing from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, the line shall ascend to the north along Portland Channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this point the line shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast." From Mt. St. Elias to the Arctic Ocean the hundred and forty-first meridian of west longitude was to be the boundary. Where the mountains parallel with the coast were more than ten marine leagues distant from the ocean, Russian territory was not to exceed that distance in width. The meaning of the treaty was not altogether clear. There are several mountain ranges parallel with the coast. The coast, too, is broken by deep bays, and the question arose whether the boundary line was to be ten leagues from the heads of these bays or from their mouths. There was some doubt, also, as to the course of the Portland Channel, and the settlement of this point involved the possession of several islands.

The Alaskan boundary

The discovery of gold in and beyond the disputed territory made the Alaskan boundary an all-important question which both nations were anxious to have settled. Finally the interpretation of the British-Russian treaty was left to a commission, composed of three representatives from the United States, two from


SOUTHEASTERN ALASKA
AND PART OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA
YUKON
DISTRICT
LINE ACCORDING TO AWARD OF ALASKA TRIBUNAL
LINE CLAIMED BY CANADA
LINE CLAIMED BY CANADA ALTERNATE LINE
LINE CLAIMED BY UNITED STATES
MT. ST. ELIAS
MISSION
KLUKWAN
SKAGWAY
PYRAMID HARBOR
CHICHAGOF I.
JUNEAU
ADMIRALTY I.
H'SUMDUM
BARANOF I.
KUPREANOF I.
CAPE OMMANEY
WRANGELL
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND
REVILLAGIGEDO I.
DIXON ENTRANCE
PRINCE RUPERT
FORT SIMPSON
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

Canada, and Lord Alverstone, the Chief Justice of England. The commission met in London in September, 1903. The decision was, upon the whole, favourable to the American claims. The Portland Channel was so defined as to give the United States two islands which were generally regarded as belonging to Canada. In connection with the boundary line on the mainland, it was decided that this should be measured from the heads of the larger bays. The Canadian commissioners, Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. Aylesworth, refused to sign the award, thereby protesting against the judgment of Lord Alverstone, who voted with the American representatives.

243. Summary. — A review of the various British-American treaties affecting Canada shows that in many cases Canadian interests have been sacrificed. Too often, ignorance on the part of British statesmen, or a desire to preserve peace at any cost, has resulted in the surrender of Canadian territory or rights. This is especially true of the treaties made before confederation, when the provinces, acting separately, had little influence with the British government. Since confederation a change has taken place, and Canada's voice has been heard in the treaty councils. The fact that two of the three British members of the Alaskan boundary tribunal were Canadians, indicates that Canada is to play a more important part in framing future treaties affecting the Dominion. In 1898 a Joint High Commission of ten members, five from Great Britain and five from the United States, was formed to consider all questions still open between the United States and Canada. On this

Commission Canada was represented by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and three other Canadians. After two sessions the Commission adjourned without coming to any agreement. The British representatives reported that it was useless to proceed further "until the Alaskan boundary question had been disposed of, either by agreement or reference to arbitration." Now that this dispute has been settled a rumour to the effect that the members of the Commission may once more be called together points towards a possible settlement of the questions in which the two countries are mutually interested.

CHAPTER XVI

GOVERNMENT

244. The Imperial System. — The government of Canada has been modelled, as far as possible, after that of Great Britain. To understand the colonial system it is necessary to know something of the imperial. The constitution of Great Britain has been many centuries in the making. In early times the rule of the sovereign was absolute, the people having no voice in the government. Rulers like King John and James II strove to maintain the tyranny of the Crown, but in vain. The Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights tell of the growing power of the parliament and of the increasing freedom of the people. It is to long centuries of struggle and sacrifice on the part of the people that Great Britain owes its present constitution. The country is still governed by a sovereign, but by one who rules according to the will of the people.

Great Britain is a limited monarchy. The crown is hereditary in the House of Hanover, subject always to the will of Parliament. All acts of government are performed in the name of the sovereign, whether they be legislative, executive, or judicial. In legislation — law making — the sovereign is at the head of a Parliament composed of two Houses, the Lords and the Commons. In the House of

The legislature

Lords sit archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. A seat in the upper House is hereditary, except in the cases of the elected Scottish and Irish peers. The House of Lords represents mainly the wealth and landed interests of the country. The House of Commons, a larger body representing the people of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, is the most important part of the Parliament. Nearly all business originates in this House. When a bill passes the Commons it must be brought before the Lords, but the latter never refuse their assent if they feel that the lower House represents the real wishes of the nation. After passing through both Houses of Parliament, every bill must be signed by the sovereign before it can become law.

EDWARD VII, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF ALL THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS.

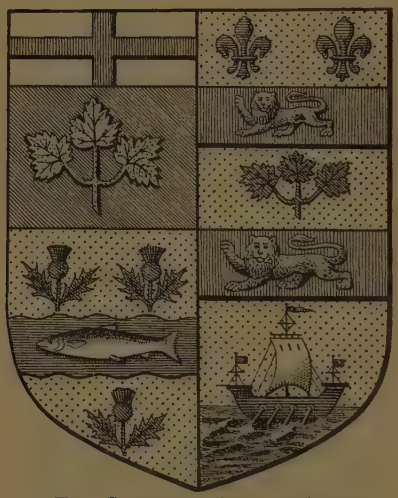
In his executive acts the sovereign is advised by an Executive Council, commonly called the Cabinet. The members of the Cabinet are chosen from the House of Lords and the House of Commons, mainly from the latter. As the king follows the advice of a Cabinet

which must possess the confidence of the House of Commons, elected by the nation at large, it may be truly said that the people of Great Britain rule themselves. There is one member of the British Cabinet in whom the colonial governments are specially interested, namely, the Colonial Secretary. Through his hands pass all communications between the British and Canadian governments.

245. The Federal System. — The present government of Canada is the outcome of a century's growth. When the country was taken over by Great Britain in 1763, the people did not know how to govern themselves. A governor and a Council ruled until 1791, when the British authorities thought it safe to allow the people to elect an Assembly. For another half century the governor and his Council felt themselves to be independent of the people's representatives. In 1841, however, at the close of a long struggle between the Council and the people, the Act of Union declared the Executive responsible to the Assembly. The provinces were then self-governing. The last step in the development of Canada's constitution was taken in 1867, when the provinces were united and a federal government formed.

The British North America Act gave form to the government of Canada. Those who drew up the act saw that there were some matters of government which concerned the provinces separately, others that were of interest to all. They aimed, therefore, at leaving each province free to manage its local affairs, and providing a central government to deal with all matters affecting Canada as a whole. As far as the conditions of a new

country allowed, the Canadian constitution imitated the British. The governor-general, an official appointed by the British government, represents the king in Canada. Like the king, he is advised by a Cabinet. The Canadian legislature is made up of two Houses, a Senate and a House of Commons.



THE CANADIAN COAT OF ARMS.

The governor-general has a double responsibility, to the British government which he represents, and to the Canadian Cabinet, upon whose advice he is required to act. He guards imperial interests, and sees that nothing done by the Canadian government threatens the welfare of any other part of the empire. When a measure has passed through the two Houses of Parliament, it is submitted to the governor-general for his signature. If he considers that it interferes with imperial interests, he may reserve it for the consideration of the Colonial Secretary. Any such measure may be disallowed by the imperial government within two years. The governor-general, as the head of the Dominion Executive, assembles, prorogues, and dissolves parliament, but all these and many other executive acts he performs on the advice of his Council.

The governor-general

The Executive Council or Cabinet is sometimes called

the Ministry or the Administration. As soon as it is known which party has a majority of members in the House of Commons, the governor-general invites the recognised leader of that party to form a Cabinet. This leader, known as the premier, or prime minister, selects his fellow ministers from his own party, three or four Senators, but the majority members of the House of Commons. The work of government is then divided into departments, and a minister appointed to act at the head of each. The names of the departments — commonly called portfolios — show the great variety of work done by the Dominion Cabinet. The present Cabinet includes the President of the Privy Council, who has no departmental duties, the Ministers of Justice, Finance, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture, Marine and Fisheries, Militia and Defence, Interior, Public Works, Railways and Canals, the Postmaster-general, and the Secretary of State.

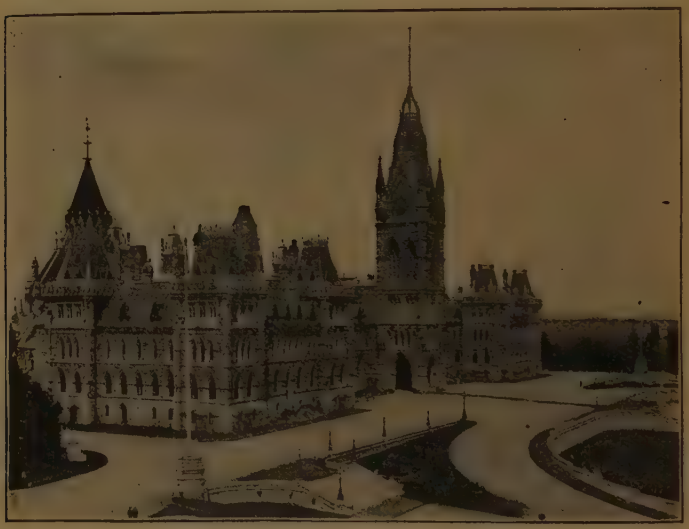
The Cabinet

Although the Senate corresponds to the House of Lords in the British government, it does not, like the latter, represent any special class. It was thought wise, however, to have a second House to revise the legislation of the Commons. If the Senate was to act as a check upon the Commons, it was felt that its members should not be chosen in the same way as the Commoners. The Senators are, therefore, appointed for life by the governor-general, who always in such appointments acts upon the advice of his Council. The Senate has the same power as the House of Commons, except where bills relating to money are concerned. These cannot originate or be

The Senate

altered in the upper House, but they may be rejected as a whole.

The most important part of the Dominion government is the House of Commons, a body at present consisting of two hundred and fourteen members, elected by the people. Each province is represented according to its



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

population. The representation of Quebec is fixed at sixty-five members. The representation of each of the other provinces bears the same relation to sixty-five as its population bears to that of Quebec. Every tenth year a census of the Dominion is taken, after which the representation of the provinces in the House of Commons is readjusted to suit the changes in population. The House of Commons is elected for

The House of Commons

five years — unless it is dissolved by the governor-general before the close of that term, — and must assemble at least once a year. Every precaution is taken to keep the legislature free from corruption. If a member accepts any office of profit under the government, and so comes under its influence, his seat at once becomes vacant. All disputes arising over elections are settled in the courts, by judges free from political influence. The power of the House of Commons is very great. Without its support no Cabinet can continue in office. In it nearly all business of importance originates. The most important of all bills, those connected with the raising and spending of money, take their final form in the Commons.

Mention has been made of a division of legislation into federal — Dominion — and provincial. All matters of common interest to several or to all the provinces are under the control of the Dominion Parliament. Thus the government at Ottawa is concerned with the public debt of Canada, trade and commerce, customs and excise, the postal service, the census, the militia, navigation, sea-coast fisheries, currency, banking, patents, Indian affairs, naturalisation, and criminal law. Laws relating to railways, canals, telegraphs and shipping are also made by the Dominion Parliament, if these enterprises extend beyond the limits of a particular province. In the sphere of education, although this is a subject which comes under the head of provincial legislation, the Dominion government retains the right to protect a Catholic or a Protestant minority from injustice. Any act

Federal legislation

Provincial Parliament Buildings.

of a provincial parliament found to interfere with the rights of another province or of the Dominion as a whole, may be disallowed by the federal government.

246. The Provincial System. — Provincial legislation, as distinct from federal, has to do with prisons, asylums, hospitals, and other charitable institutions; with the administration of justice, licenses and kindred matters.

THE CANADIAN FLAG.

Most of the provinces control their own crown lands, forests, and mines. Public works, railways, telegraphs, and shipping, if confined to the limits of one province, come within the scope of provincial legislation. The Provincial government is in form very like the federal. At its head is a lieutenant-governor, appointed by the governor-general-in-council for a term of five years. The lieutenant-governor is advised by an Executive Council or Cabinet chosen from the provincial legisla-

ture. The legislature, in the majority of the provinces, consists simply of an Assembly elected by the people. Two provinces — Nova Scotia and Quebec — have Legislative Councils in imitation of the Dominion Senate. The workings of a provincial government are very like those of the federal. The lieutenant-governor's duties are similar to those of the governor-general, while the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly exercise a power in the province similar to that exercised in the Dominion by the Cabinet and the House of Commons.

247. The Municipal System. — If it would be impossible for the Dominion government to attend to the local affairs of the provinces, it would be equally so for the provincial government to manage the details connected with the control of each city, town, and village. To relieve the provincial Parliament there has been developed throughout Canada — Prince Edward Island alone excepted — a system of municipal government. Each municipality — city, town, village, or rural district — elects a council which makes by-laws dealing with all local affairs. These by-laws, especially in the cities and larger towns, are many and important, having to do with public buildings, street improvements, lighting, fire protection, police, water-works, sewers, and street railways. So extensive is the work of municipal government, that it demands the attention of a number of permanent officials — a clerk, a treasurer, assessors, collectors, and auditors.

248. Taxation. — A study of British history teaches us that in the long struggle of the people for freedom

from the tyranny of kings the most important question at issue was the control of public money. It was not until Parliament made good its claim to the sole right to raise and spend the nation's money that it became all-powerful in the state. So, too, throughout the course of Canadian history it was the question of revenue control which gave rise to the bitterest political strife. Now that the power of taxation rests entirely with the imperial, federal, and provincial parliaments and municipal councils, it is interesting to learn how the money necessary for purposes of government is raised. There is, first of all, the revenue arising from the public lands, mines, and other natural resources. The remainder of the revenue is secured by taxation. Taxation is of two kinds, direct and indirect. The federal and provincial governments rely mainly for their revenue upon indirect taxation, only the municipalities for the most part taxing directly. In the municipality the council determines the amount of money needed for the year, estimates the value of each citizen's property, and collects from each his fair share of the amount required. Postage stamps and tolls on bridges and canals form a small part of the indirect taxation. The greater part of indirect taxation is levied in customs and excises. Customs are duties on imported goods, the necessaries of life being lightly taxed, luxuries, such as wines and cigars, bearing the heavier burden. Excises are taxes paid by manufacturers upon goods made in the country, mainly on tobacco, beer, and distilled liquors.

249. Conclusion. — We have reviewed four systems of government — the imperial, the federal, the provincial,

and the municipal. In each of these the most powerful factor is the body representing the people. Whether a government is good or bad depends upon the character of the men whom the citizens choose to represent them in parliament or council. How important, then, that the people choose wisely! Seeing that our government has been built up through great sacrifice on the part of our ancestors, it is our duty as loyal citizens to preserve it unharmed for those who come after.

> "So, in the long hereafter, this Canada shall be
> The worthy heir of British power and British liberty."

CHAPTER XVII

ONTARIO

250. Confederation. — All the events of national importance in the history of what is now the province of Ontario, up to the time of Confederation, have already been touched upon in dealing with Canada as a whole. The question of Confederation was long a dream in the minds of the foremost men of Upper Canada. Very early in the century Sir John Beverley Robinson had urged a general union of the provinces, but the movement did not become general until late in the sixties. The events which hastened the project in Upper Canada were the cancellation of the Reciprocity Treaty by the United States, the offers of Congress leading to annexation, the Fenian Raids, and finally the deadlock in Parliament in which neither party could secure a working majority. In the coalition ministry, formed to break this deadlock, were found such prominent political leaders as John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Oliver Mowat, and William McDougall. These, with Alexander T. Galt and Sir Alexander Campbell, make up an Upper Canada group of the "Fathers of Confederation." The British North America Act (1867) changed the name Upper Canada to Ontario, provided the province with a local legisla-

Confederation

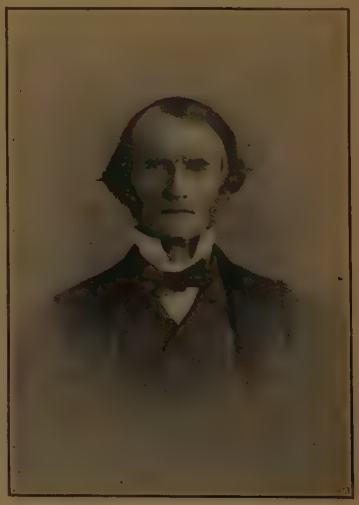
ture, and gave her representatives in the House of Commons and in the Senate.

251. The Makers of the Province of Ontario. — The honour list of the province is a long one, and only a few names can be mentioned here. Among the pioneers were Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, untiring and resourceful; a trio of patron-founders of settlements, Lord Selkirk, Bishop Macdonell or "the man from Glengarry," and Colonel Talbot. The heroic defenders of Upper Canada, Sir Isaac Brock, Colonels Vincent and Harvey, General Proctor, Tecumseh, and Laura Secord must not be forgotten; nor the great educationists, Bishop Strachan and Dr. Ryerson; nor the champions of responsible government, William Lyon Mackenzie and Robert Baldwin.

Before Confederation times

In the struggle for Confederation, partyism dwindled before the grander statesmanship. The parts played by Sir John A. Macdonald and George Brown have already been described, as well as the career of Alexander Mackenzie. In these days of transition appeared also such promoters of the larger national life as Sir Alexander Campbell, Sir Francis

John Sandfield Macdonald



JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD.

Hincks, and Sir Alexander T. Galt. An opponent of what he deemed a revolutionary scheme, John Sandfield Macdonald figured largely in this age. He was a member of the Union Parliament for many years. He entered the Lafontaine-Baldwin Cabinet in 1849, the Brown-Dorion Government in 1858, and for two years (1862–1864) was premier of the United Canadas. At Confederation he became the first Prime Minister of Ontario and held office for a parliamentary term. His ministry founded many of the province's public institutions, such as the Agricultural College, the Central Prison, and the Institutions for the Blind, and for the Deaf and Dumb. Mr. Macdonald was a Liberal in politics, but allied himself with Sir John A. Macdonald after Confederation.

Sir Oliver Mowat

Oliver Mowat entered Parliament in 1857, and soon after was made a member of the Macdonald-Dorion administration. He was one of the strongest supporters of Confederation. Till 1872 he was conspicuous in the Dominion Parliament. Then for nearly twenty-four years he was the distinguished Liberal premier of Ontario and her greatest statesman. He won many constitutional victories in his battles for provincial rights. The Rivers and Streams Bill (1881), a measure passed by the Ontario Legislature, was disallowed by the Federal government. The case was taken to the Privy Council, where it was decided that the province controlled her own waterways. In 1884 arose the Western Boundary Dispute between the Dominion and Ontario; the decision of the Privy Council established the present western line of the province.

The same Council in 1888 decided that the province owned all lands bought from Indians, and also had jurisdiction in the matter of liquor licenses. A Privy Council decision (1896) on the Provincial Assemblies Question conceded to the province the power "to regulate their own procedure, and to enlarge or limit the privileges of members." By Imperial statute (1889) the boundaries of Ontario were confirmed, and extended to James Bay. It was mainly through the energy and ability of Mr. Mowat that the interests of Ontario were thus promoted. He greatly simplified and cheapened the course of the law, and expedited the machinery of the courts. For his great services to his country Mr. Mowat was knighted. In 1896 he was appointed Minister of Justice in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government, and retired with a splendid record in 1897 to become Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, a position he held at the time of his death.

SIR OLIVER MOWAT.

William McDougall was an energetic lawyer and journalist. From the time (1862) of his entry into John Sandfield Macdonald's Liberal administration, he strenuously urged such great measures as Representation by Population, Confederation of

William McDougall

all the provinces, and the acquirement of the North-West Territories by the Dominion. In his public life he saw all these passed. When in 1870 the Hudson Bay Territory was bought by the Dominion government, Mr. McDougall became the first governor of the newly acquired region.

Edward Blake

As a lawyer, Edward Blake early won a name for eloquence and influence. His political career began when he entered the Ontario Legislature at Confederation. Shortly afterward, he rose to be leader of the Liberal party, and then (1871) premier of Ontario. A year later, he was called to the Federal administration of Mr. Mackenzie, and after the latter's withdrawal, Mr. Blake became the Opposition leader of the Commons (1880–1887). He retired from Dominion politics in 1892 to become an Irish Home Rule member in the British House of Commons. Mr. Blake long held the honoured post of Chancellor of the University of Toronto. He is a scholarly lawyer, a brilliant orator, and a statesman of repute.

EDWARD BLAKE.

Having distinguished himself as a successful pleader in many important cases, Mr. Meredith was persuaded

to enter the Ontario Legislature in 1872. Six years later he was chosen leader of the Conservative Opposition, succeeding the late Sir M. C. Cameron. In 1894 he was appointed Chief Justice of Ontario and soon after was knighted. Sir William succeeded Mr. Blake as Chancellor of the University of Toronto.

Sir William R. Meredith

Sir William R. Meredith.

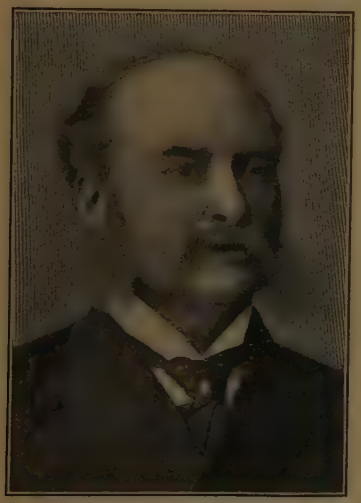
Arthur S. Hardy entered the Provincial Parliament in 1873, and after four years of praiseworthy service entered the Mowat administration. On the retirement of Mr. Mowat in 1896, Mr. Hardy succeeded him as premier. Many public and private bills of a wide scope and of a practical business character marked his progressive administration.

Arthur S. Hardy

For eleven years (1872–1883) George W. Ross was a leading member of the House of Commons. He was then chosen Minister of Education in the Mowat Cabinet, — a position he also held under Mr. Hardy. He did much to improve the public school system, and also brought about the federation of the University of Toronto and the affiliation of denominational colleges with that institution. In 1899 Mr. Ross became premier of Ontario, and continued to hold that

George W. Ross.

office until 1905, when his government was defeated at the polls. He was succeeded by Mr. James Pliny Whitney, who had been leader of the Conservative opposition since 1896. Mr. Whitney has had long experience in the Legislature and gives promise of being an able and efficient administrator.



ARTHUR S. HARDY.

252. Provincial System. —At the head of the Government of the province stands the Lieutenant-Governor, who is appointed for five years by the Governor-General in Council. His duties are to summon, open, prorogue, dissolve the Assembly. He selects his cabinet from the party having the majority. Acting on the advice of his Cabinet he appoints officials and gives assent to legislative measures. The annual remuneration of the Lieutenant-Governor is $10,000.

The Lieutenant-Governor

The Ontario Cabinet, Ministry, or Executive Council, includes the President of the Executive Council, the Ministers of Education, Public Works, Agriculture, Crown Lands and Mines, the Attorney-General, Registrar-General, Treasurer, Secretary, and two members without portfolio, *i.e.* without the responsibility of a department. The Education Depart-

The Cabinet

ment has charge of institutions for the blind, the deaf and dumb, kindergartens, public and high schools, collegiate institutes, model and normal schools, the normal and other provincial colleges and universities. The Crown Lands and Mines Department includes the regulation of timber limits and mining lands. The Public Works Department superintends railways, prisons, the penitentiary, reformatories, asylums, hospitals, etc. The Department of Agriculture controls dairying institutions, model farms, experimental fruit stations, agricultural colleges, factories, etc. The Attorney-General's duties are to give legal advice to the government, and to execute provincial justice. The Secretary is the correspondent of the government. The Registrar's duties are to register all commissions and the bonds and securities of provincial officials. The annual salary of the Premier is $7000, of each portfolio member $4000. The members without portfolio receive no specified salary. The premier retains the title "Honourable" for life, the others only while in the ministry.

GEORGE W. ROSS.

The Ontario Legislature has ninety-four members. A member of the Provincial Parliament (M.P.P.) or

Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.) must be a British subject of at least twenty-one years of age. Members are elected for four years by a manhood suffrage ballot. They are entitled to a sessional allowance of $1000, besides a mileage rate. A session is held each year. The Speaker, one of the members of the Legislature, is chosen by ballot on the first day of the new parliament, and usually from the party in the majority in the house. His duties are to preside over the sessions, to give decisions, and to vote when a tie is recorded. All measures must have three readings and pass through Committee details before receiving the signature of the Lieutenant-Governor. Orders-in-Council are measures of the Cabinet between sessions, and must be ratified at the next session of the Assembly. The Governor-General in Council has the power to disallow any provincial measure within a year of its enactment.

The Legislative Assembly

JAMES P. WHITNEY.

The Dominion Government appoints supreme, district, and county court judges; the Provincial Government appoints justices of the peace and other magistrates. All courts of the province are created and maintained by the province. There are

Justice

Division Courts to collect small debts; Courts for the revision of assessment rolls and voters' lists; Police and other Magistrates' Courts; County Courts, for civil cases of importance, before county judges; High Courts for civil and criminal cases still more important; Election Courts to try protests; Courts to decide wills and inherited property; and the Court of Appeal, consisting of the Chief Justice and three Justices, the highest court in the province. The Grand Jury, chosen by the ballot of county officers, ascertains from evidence whether the prisoner must have a trial. If he must be tried before the Petty or common Jury, a "True Bill" is recorded; if he is set free, then "No Bill." To execute court decrees, summon juries, supervise jails, the Lieutenant-Governor in council appoints a sheriff for each county or district. The sheriff appoints his own assistants. The provincial government appoints the registrar, the bailiff or constable of the supreme courts, the county clerk, the county attorney, the notary, the clerk of the peace, the deputy clerk, the constable, the coroner, etc.

Provincial revenues accrue from timber limits, crown lands, mines, and mining concessions; from licenses to auctioneers, taverns, shops, and saloons; from marriage licenses; from annual subsidies from the Dominion Government; from law stamps, succession duties, fees for the incorporation of companies, etc. **Revenue**

253. Municipal System. — Counties are divided into districts in each of which two councillors are elected for two years by popular vote. **County councils** The warden or chairman is chosen by ballot at the first

meeting of the Council. The other chief county officials are the sheriff, clerk of the peace, treasurer, attorney, registrar, engineer, public school inspector, auditors.

City councils

A City Council is composed of a mayor and three aldermen for each ward. In addition to aldermen, any city of one hundred thousand population or more may have an executive or board of control consisting of the mayor and four members elected by a general city vote.

Town, village, and township councils

Town Councils consist of a mayor, and three councillors for each ward, or two councillors for each of five or more wards. A reeve and four councillors make up a Village or Township Council. Those who are entitled to vote for councillors are ratepayers, farmers' sons residing at home, rated widows, and spinsters. These electors must be British subjects of the age of twenty-one. The chief executive officer of a municipality is the mayor, warden, or reeve. He is the chairman of the Council, and is authorised to sign, seal, and execute all documents, contracts, debentures, deeds, or council agreements. Other municipal officials are the clerk, treasurer, assessor, collector, auditor, health officer, engineer, street or road commissioner or pathmaster, solicitor, chief of police, constable, poundkeeper.

254. Educational System of Ontario. — The Minister of Education supervises educational affairs, for which provincial grants are made. The educational system includes: primary schools, or kindergarten and public school grades; secondary schools, which include high

schools, technical schools, and collegiate institutes, and the provincial university (Toronto). With the University of Toronto are affiliated other institutions such as Victoria College, Trinity College, Knox College, St. Michael's College, the School of Practical Science, Toronto Medical School, Royal College of Dental Surgeons, etc. In addition to these schools and colleges there are provincial institutions for the deaf

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

and dumb and for the blind, industrial schools, boys' and girls' homes, shelters, etc. Each city and county has one or more public school inspectors, according to the school population, and two high school inspectors are appointed for the whole province. The school taxes in each district or section are usually levied with the municipal taxes. Trustees are elected in such districts or sections by the general vote of the ratepayers. These trustees manage the school funds and the affairs of the schools.

The Ontario educational system provides for the training of teachers. For this purpose there are county and city model schools, and three normal schools (Ottawa, Toronto, London). These are for the training of public school teachers, while for the teachers of high schools and collegiate institutes a normal college has been established at Hamilton.

Separate public schools are granted to Roman Catholics in Ontario. These schools are kept up by the taxes of the Separate School supporters, who are privileged to elect their own trustees. The inspectors of these schools are appointed by the provincial government.

255. Progress. — Western Canada had made scarcely a beginning — just a few scattered forts — when the country fell into the hands of the British. Twenty years later the American revolt drove out the United Empire Loyalists, who found new homes along the shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. Liberal grants induced many settlers to leave the old land and begin pioneer life in Upper Canada. This was the era of laborious carving of forests, of rude log homes and outbuildings, of dangerous experiences, and of scanty returns. The advent of more settlers meant log schoolhouses and log churches, better roads, and greater comforts and social enjoyments. Active citizenship was not neglected, for in 1792 the first Parliament of Upper Canada met at Newark (Niagara). The humble machinery of education had been set in motion long since in the "cross-roads" schoolhouse, but now to meet more ambitious demands Parliament established eight grammar or high

1763–1812

schools. In 1793 appeared a modern educator, *The Gazette* of Newark, the first newspaper of Upper Canada. The population of this province numbered eighty thousand at the time when her southern neighbour invaded the country.

But thirty years later her people had increased fivefold. Important cities and towns like Ottawa (then Bytown), Toronto, London, Kingston, Hamilton, Niagara, Perth, Galt, Peterborough, etc., had become great commercial centres. Vast areas of the back country were cleared, and many new corduroy roads, properly bridged and drained, were opened up. This was the age of lumbering stage-coaches, of clumsy bateaux, and Durham boats. Late in this period even steamboats were pointed out by excited settlers. These modern facilities of travel and trade meant a demand for improvements in provincial waterways. Thus the Welland Canal, a shallow ditch, was constructed in 1829. The Rideau Canal, built by the home government, shortened the water communication between Kingston and Ottawa (Bytown). A regular passenger and mail service by land, lake, and river had become a reality. At this time the leading industries of the province were agriculture and lumbering. Trade existed only in a local way, as Upper Canada had few dealings with the sister provinces, the neighbouring republic, or even with Great Britain. Rural schools, in many instances, had advanced to the more pretentious frame structures, but many others were still of the primitive log type. The equipments of school and schoolmaster were exceedingly meagre. Yet in the larger centres of population

1812–1841

of this rapidly growing west, higher education had already achieved great triumphs. King's College (later the University of Toronto) was founded by Bishop Strachan (1827); Victoria University at Cobourg (1836), later removed to Toronto, and Upper Canada College (1830) were also established. Supported by English missionary societies, the Anglicans built many new churches and established many new parishes. The Presbyterians and Methodists also made very rapid progress during this lusty childhood period of a promising young nation.

Upper Canada rapidly increased in prosperity and in population (1,396,091 in 1861). The settlements reached far into the back country. Better implements and improved methods of farming were producing greater results. The trade of the province was extending. Farm products and lumber were exported to the States and to Great Britain, but not to the other provinces. The first line of railway in Upper Canada was the Northern (1851) from Toronto to Collingwood; the Grand Trunk and the Great Western from Toronto to Windsor were opened in the following year. Then, too, came the great railway bridges, over the Niagara gorge, and across the St. Lawrence at Montreal. The new canals on the St. Lawrence completed a great waterway from Lake Huron to the sea and greatly increased the lake traffic. Through Dr. Ryerson's system of education public schools were maintained by local taxation. Toronto Normal School was established, and many grammar or high schools were founded. Higher education, too, was represented by more colleges:

1841-1867

Queen's University at Kingston, Ottawa University, and Trinity and McMaster Universities at Toronto. Frame, brick, or stone structures were now supplanting the ruder pioneer churches. Ministers were being trained in denominational colleges, and most congregations had become self-supporting.

Ontario's population has nearly doubled (2,182,947 in 1901) since Confederation. The area of the province through the extension of her boundaries is now 222,000 square miles, of which New Ontario contributes about 100,000 square miles. Yet this province, larger than either France or Germany, is cobwebbed with the steel of railway and trolley lines, with the wire of telegraph and telephone. The rival railways, the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific, have absorbed most of the minor lines. The main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, opened in 1885, has proved inestimable to the settlers of New Ontario. Another great trans-continental highway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, is now under construction to proceed through the province's timbered northlands. From Port Arthur to Winnipeg runs the Canadian Northern. The Temiskaming and Northern is a government line under construction to impart new life to northern Ontario. The other principal railroads under construction are the Algoma Central and the James Bay line. A canal of immense proportions has been opened at Sault Ste. Marie; the Welland Canal has been deepened to fourteen, the St. Lawrence Canals to eighteen feet; and thus ocean vessels may traverse the Great Lakes to the heart of the continent.

1867-1905

Ontario's chief industry is agriculture; her forest resources, especially in the north, include an abundance of pine, beech, birch, maple, elm, tamarack, balsam, hemlock, wood-pulp spruce, and poplar; her inestimable mineral wealth comprises gold, silver, nickel, copper, salt, iron, mica, coal, petroleum, lime, corundum, etc. Most of her seventeen cities and one hundred and twenty towns are great manufacturing centres, and the products of her factories, farms, forests, and mines are justly prized by the sister provinces, the motherland, and the United States. At the various great Expositions held recently, educational exhibits from Ontario, her fruit, dairy products, grain, live stock, woods, minerals, and manufactures, have won many of the highest awards. And yet this banner province of the Dominion is in its infancy. There are still vast undeveloped resources which will furnish prosperous homes to the millions who with brain, brawn, and heart seek to be worthy of their glorious heritage!

FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION

1. Hewitt Barnard (1826–1893), Secretary; 2. W. A. Henry (1816–1888), Nova Scotia; 3. E. Palmer (1809–1889), Prince Edward Island; 4. W. H. Steeves (1814–1873), New Brunswick; 5. Charles Fisher (1808–1880), New Brunswick; 6. Edward Whalen (1824–1867), Prince Edward Island; 7. Colonel John Hamilton Gray (1811–1887), Prince Edward Island; 8. George Coles (1810–1875), Prince Edward Island; 9. Ambrose Shea (1818–), Newfoundland; 10. F. B. T. Carter (1819–1900), Newfoundland; 11. Samuel Leonard Tilley (1818–1896), New Brunswick; 12. J. C. Chapais (1812–1885), Canada; 13. E. B. Chandler (1800–1880), New Brunswick; 14. Alexander Campbell (1821–1892), Canada; 15. Adams G. Archibald (1814–1892), Nova Scotia; 16. Hector Langevin (1826–), Canada; 17. John A. Macdonald (1815–1891), Canada; 18. George Etienne Cartier (1814–1873), Canada; 19. Etienne Paschal Taché (1795–1865), Canada; 20. George Brown (1818–1880), Canada; 21. Thomas H. Haviland (1822–1895), Prince Edward Island; 22. Alexander T. Galt (1817–1893), Canada; 23. Peter Mitchell (1824–1899), New Brunswick; 24. Oliver Mowat (1820–1903), Canada; 25. J. Cockburn (1819–1883), Canada; 26. R. B. Dickie (1811–1903), Nova Scotia; 27. Charles Tupper (1821–), Nova Scotia; 28. J. H. Gray (1814–1889), New Brunswick; 29. W. H. Pope (1825–1879), Prince Edward Island; 30. William McDougall (1822–1905), Canada; 31. Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825–1868), Canada; 32. A. A. Macdonald (1829–), Prince Edward Island; 33. J. McCully (1809–1877), Nova Scotia; 34. J. M. Johnson (1818–1868), New Brunswick.

GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION

In using the following key for the pronunciation of words which are given in phonetic transcription in the Index, it must be remembered that although the same characters are used for more or less analogous sounds in French and English, *there is really not a single vowel or consonant sound common to these two languages*, and consequently the same symbol represents different sounds according as it is employed for English or French.

The English vowel sounds are represented as follows: —

ɑ as in "far," "father"; æ as in "fat."

e as in "they"; ɛ as in "met," "where."

ə represents the weak vowels in words like "above" (əbʌv), in "the" before consonant (dhə mæn), *e* before final *r*, etc.

ɪ as in "fit"; i as in "machine"; o as in "note."

ɔ as in "not," "what," "nor"; ʌ as in "but," "turn."

u as in "rule" (= oo in "pool").

ai as in "lie"; ei as in "lay"; ɔi as in "boy."

au as in "how"; yu as in "few."

The English consonant sounds need no remark, with the exception of the inverted r (ɹ), which may or may not be sounded.

The French sounds can be learned only from one who can make them correctly. The following will show the value of the symbols: —

ɑ = *a* in "pas," "pâte"; a = *a* in "la," "patte."

ɛ = *e* in "fête," *ai* in "lait"; e = *e* in "été"; i = *i* in "fini."

o = *o* in "rose," *au* in "faux"; ɔ = *o* in "mort," *au* in "mauvais."

œ = *eu* in "leur," *œu* in "sœur"; ö = *eu* in "peu," "creuse."

u = *ou* in "fou"; ü = *u* in "du."

ɑ̃ = *an* and *en* in "enfant"; ɛ̃ = *in* in "vin."

ɔ̃ = *on* in "bon"; œ̃ = *un* in "un," "brun."

ñ = the "liquid n" in "gagner"; ẅ = the semi-consonant ü in "puis," "nuit."

The sign : is used after a vowel to denote that it is *long*.

It must be remembered that French words have the main stress on the last syllable; but this accent does not need to be marked in the phonetic transcription.

g is always hard, as in English "get"; its soft sound is indicated by zh in French and dzh in English; the French r is strongly trilled either with tongue or uvula. H represents the guttural j and g of the Spanish (as in "ojo," "mujer"), not unlike the German or Scotch ch.

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* The English pronunciation of this word as "su" is an attempt to reproduce the closed *o* of the French "so."

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